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THE  
**ROMAN HISTORY,**

FROM THE

**BUILDING OF ROME**

TO THE

**RUIN OF THE COMMONWEALTH.**

ILLUSTRATED WITH MAPS.

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BY

**N. HOOKE, ESQ.**

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A NEW EDITION, IN ELEVEN VOLUMES.

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**VOL. III.**

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**London :**

PRINTED FOR F. C. AND J. RIVINGTON ; T. EGERTON ; CLARKE AND SONS ;  
J. NUNN ; J. CUTHELL ; SCATCHERD AND LETTERMAN ; E. JEFFERY ;  
LONGMAN, HURST, REES, ORME AND CO. ; CADELL AND DAVIES ;  
CARPENTER AND SON ; J. AND A. ARCH ; LACKINGTON AND CO. ;  
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ALLMAN ; W. H. REID ; E. LLOYD, AND WILSON AND SONS, YORK.

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**1818.**





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## VOL. III.

### BOOK II.

*From the Establishment of the ROMAN COMMONWEALTH in the Year of Rome 243, to the rebuilding of the City in 365, after the burning of it by the Gauls.*

#### CHAP. XXXV.

I. THE next year, in the consulate of T. Quinctius Capi-

tolinus and Numerius Fabius, new dissensions arise in the

republic, on occasion of a proposal to add two quæstors to

the two already established. The tribunes insist that of

the four one half shall be always plebeians. The senate

oppose this, but are willing to leave the people free in

their choice. The tribunes, not content, protest, by way

of revenge, against holding the *comitia* for electing con-

suls. The two parties come at length to this compromise,

that military tribunes shall be elected to the government,

and that the people shall be free to choose patricians or

plebeians to the quæstorship. Notwithstanding all that

the tribunes of the commons can do, the people choose

not only the military tribunes but the quæstors too out of

the patricians only. The tribunes of the commons, to

vent their rage, renew the prosecution against Sempronius,

(whose kinsman, A. Sempronius, one of the new military

tribunes, had presided in the assembly for choosing quæs-

tors) and they get him fined. II. The following six years,

to the year of Rome 340, the state is governed by military

tribunes. In 334 a conspiracy of the slaves is discovered

and prevented. In 335 the Romans have a war with the

Labianians and Æquians united. The three military tribunes

332.

Four Quæ-  
stors.

333.

334.

335.

- quarrel about the command of the army, one of the three being to stay in the city. Q. Servilius, formerly dictator, the father of one of them, orders his son to remain at Rome. The other two take the field, and command alternately. The Roman army is routed. Young Servilius names his father to the dictatorship: this great man in eight days recovers the affairs of the republic, and then resigns his office. The year 336 is a year of peace. In the year 337 the tribunes revive the old quarrel about the distribution of the conquered lands. Appius's advice to the senate, to raise a division among those magistrates, is followed with success. Six of them side with the patricians. The like good understanding is maintained the next year (338) between the nobles and some of the tribunes. III. But in 339 the affair of the AGRARIAN LAW is revived. Posthumius, one of the military tribunes and general of the army, having promised the soldiers the plunder of Bola taken from the Æqui, afterwards breaks his word with them. Sextius, one of the tribunes of the commons, to make the soldiers amends, proposes that a colony of them shall be settled at Bola, and its territory divided among them. Posthumius (who had been called to Rome to oppose Sextius's proceedings) threatens that it shall be the worse for his men if any such step be made in their favour. The tribune takes advantage of this proud and imprudent menace to incense the people against the general; and a report of it being made in the camp, the soldiers mutiny and wound one of the quæstors; and Posthumius, at his return to the camp, attempting to punish the guilty, is stoned by the soldiers. The senate, fearing lest the people, in order to screen the murderers, should choose plebeian military tribunes for the next year (340) use all their endeavours to get consuls elected, and they prevail. The fasces are transferred to A. Cornelius Cossus and L. Furius Medullinus, who show great moderation and prudence in the prosecution of the criminals. IV. Nothing very memorable except a plague and famine, happens in the three following consulates. But in the year 344, when Cn. Cornelius and L. Furius (a second time) are consuls, three tribunes of the name of Icilius prevail with the people to choose three of the four quæstors out of the plebeians. The senate is likewise forced to consent to the choosing of



military tribunes for the next year, but find means to disappoint the Icili in their expectation of being raised to that dignity. Three patricians are chosen. These being ordered by the senate to name a dictator, on occasion of a war with the Volsci, two of them refuse. The senate hereupon has recourse, as formerly, to the tribunes; but these return a disdainful answer, and will not meddle in the dispute. Servilius Ahala, the third military tribune, names P. Cornelius dictator, who quickly puts an end to the war. Servilius's two colleagues, in anger against the senate, propose military tribunes at the next election: however patricians are chosen, and so likewise the next year. The tribunes of the commons, provoked to the utmost, revenge themselves by opposing the levies for a war with the Veientes, who had insulted the Roman ambassadors; and they make the old affair of the Agrarian law their pretence. The senate get the better of this opposition, by decreeing that the infantry shall hereafter have PAY out of the public treasury during the service. The people joyfully confirm this decree, and readily offer themselves to be enlisted.

345.

346.

347.

348.

349.

350.

PAY allowed to the  
INFANTRY.

## CHAP. XXXVI.

I. The Romans invest Veii. In the two first years of the siege (which lasted ten) there is little action. The third year (350 of Rome) the tribunes of the commons made a stir about the hardship the soldiers suffer by being detained in the camp all the winter. Appius Claudius, military tribune, (grandson of the decemvir) assembles the people, and inveighs against their tribunes for their seditious behaviour. His harangue has little effect; but a loss which the besiegers sustain before the place, animates the plebeians with a zeal to push on the siege with vigour. The senate for the first time allow PAY to the HORSE. II. The year following, Sergius and Virginius, (two of the military tribunes) having the conduct of the siege, quarrel and divide the troops between them. The Falisci and Capenates (people of Hetruria) come to the assistance of the Veientes, and fall upon one side of Sergius's camp, while the besieged sally out and attack the other. Virginius refuses to assist his colleague; the troops of the latter are routed. Hereupon the two generals are both recalled. All the

348.

350.

APPIUS  
CLAUDIUS  
V.

PAY allowed to the  
HORSE.

351.



PLEBEIAN  
MILITARY  
TRIBUNES.

- military tribunes of this year are obliged to abdicate, and  
 352. new ones are chosen. The tribunes of the commons raise such disturbances at Rome about the levies, that in the election of those magistrates the people cannot agree in the choice of more than eight. The majority of those eight name two more, in defiance of the Trebonian law. C. Trebonius, one of the present tribunes, draws the hatred of the people upon three of his colleagues on this account, but they artfully divert it from themselves by turning it against Sergius and Virginus, (the generals of the last year) who are both fined for misconduct. III. The tribunes renew the domestic broils: but all is quieted by the choosing some plebeians into the military tribuneship. At  
 353. the next elections the *comitia* choose five plebeians to that dignity, and only one patrician. The arms of the republic prosper; but there happens a great mortality among men  
 354. and cattle. To avert this evil the ceremony of the lectisternium is observed. IV. The senate take advantage of the  
 355. people's fears and superstition, to get the military tribuneship for patricians only; pretending that the gods were angry at the choice which had been made of plebeians to that magistracy. The lake of Alba overflows. This being looked upon as a prodigy, and an old Veientan soldier having delivered a prophecy, that Veii should not be taken before the water of that lake was all run out, deputies are  
 356. sent from Rome to consult the oracle of Delphos. These return the next year with an answer agreeable to the old man's prophecy. Canals are made to drain the lake. Some defect being discovered in the inauguration of the present  
 357. military tribunes, they all abdicate, and six new ones are chosen, all plebeians. Their administration not being prosperous, Camillus is named dictator. V. He takes Veii by sap.

Camillus  
takes Veii.

## CHAP. XXXVII.

I. The people are much displeased with Camillus, on account of some singularities in the pomp of his triumph; but much more for demanding back from them a tenth part of the spoil of Veii, to discharge a vow which he had made to Apollo just before the assault, and which he had afterwards forgotten. The Roman ladies contribute their

jewels to make a golden vase for Apollo. II. The next year (the republic being under the government of six military tribunes, all patricians) Sicinius Dentatus, a tribune of the commons, proposes that half of the senators, knights, and people of Rome should remove to Veii, and settle there. After much struggle, Camillus and the other senators bring this project to nothing. III. Camillus is chosen one of the six military tribunes for the year following, and to him is committed the conduct of the war against the Falisci. He besieges Falerii, their capital city. A schoolmaster, to whom the sons of the chief inhabitants of the place are committed for education, betrays his trust, and puts all the children into the hands of Camillus. The Roman detesting both the treachery and the traitor, makes the boys whip him back again into the town. The Falisci, moved by this generous action, submit to the Romans, who grant them peace on the condition only of paying the expenses of the campaign. During this transaction, two of Camillus's colleagues gain a victory over the Æqui. IV. The people, when the time comes for electing their tribunes, choose to the same office those of the old ones who had appeared for the proposal of removing half the people to Veii. On the other hand, the patricians get the consular government restored. L. Lucretius and Servius Sulpitius are elected consuls. Sicinius, the tribune, author of the project of going to Veii, gets two of his late colleagues fined for having opposed it. This project is debated in an assembly of the people, and rejected by a majority of only one tribe. The senate decree seven acres of the lands of Veii to every freeman of Rome. V. L. Valerius and M. Manlius are chosen consuls for the next year. The Volturnenses, a people of Hetruria, take arms against Rome. The consuls being seized with a contagious distemper resign the fasces. An interregnum ensues. And then six military tribunes are elected to the government.

## CHAP. XXXVIII.

I. An accusation is brought against Camillus, for having taken to his own use some part of the spoil of Veii. To avoid the disgrace of a condemnation, he banishes himself. II. Shortly after, Clusium in Hetruria being besieged by the Gauls under king Brennus, the inhabitants

CAMILLUS  
banished.  
King  
BRENNUS.

implore the assistance of the Romans. Three brothers of the name of Fabius are sent ambassadors from Rome to mediate a peace between the contending powers. Brennus gives them a haughty reception. The Fabii, young and indiscreet, having entered the town, put themselves at the head of the Clusians, and make a sally with them against the besiegers. Q. Fabius with his own hand kills one of their captains. Brennus, provoked at this breach of the law of nations, raises the siege, and marches straight towards Rome. He sends a herald, and demands that the ambassadors be delivered up to him. The Romans, instead of complying with this demand, choose the Fabii to the military tribuneship, and place them at the head of the army which is to act against the Gauls. III. Brennus gives the Romans a total overthrow on the banks of the Allia. The third day after the battle, he enters Rome, the gates of it being left open; most of the citizens fled, and the senate, with all they were capable to bear away, retired into the capitol. Brennus finds about eighty venerable old men, who had devoted themselves to death, sitting in the Forum in robes and chairs of state. They are all slain. The capitol is invested, and the city burnt. IV. Camillus (who in his exile resided at Ardea) puts himself at the head of the Ardeates, surprises and cuts off some detachments of Gauls sent out to plunder the country. Upon the report of this action, the Romans, who were dispersed about the territory of Rome, assemble, and send a request to him to be their general. He declines it; till a young man, despatched away to the capitol for that purpose, brings him from the senate a commission, which constitutes him dictator. V. While Camillus is assembling an army, the Gauls attempt to scale the capitol in the night. Their approach to the ramparts is discovered by the cackling of some geese. The assailants are repulsed, chiefly by the bravery of M. Manlius. Camillus hinders all provisions from coming to the enemy. VI. Both besiegers and besieged being distressed by famine, they enter upon a treaty. The Romans are to purchase a peace with 1000*lb.* weight of gold. While the gold is weighing, Camillus arrives: he breaks off the treaty, and forces the Gauls to raise the siege and quit the country. VII. Rome being destroyed, the tribunes renew the proposal of removing to Veii. Camillus (who is continued in the dic-

363.

ROME  
burnt.M Man-  
lius.

364.



tatorship the whole year) opposes it with great zeal; but an accidental word of a centurion is what determines the people to stay and rebuild the city. Manlius is rewarded. Q. Fabius the ambassador, who by his blameable conduct had provoked the Gauls against Rome, kills himself to avoid a public condemnation. VIII. Before the end of the next year (during which the commonwealth is governed by six military tribunes) the city is entirely rebuilt. 365.

Rome rebuilt.

### BOOK III.

*From the Year of Rome 365, when the City was REBUILT, after the burning of it by the GAULS, to the year 489, when the ROMANS, having subdued ALL ITALY, began the first PUNIC or CARTHAGINIAN WAR.*

#### CHAP. I.

I. The nations bordering upon the Roman state resolve, if possible, to crush it before it can recover its former strength. The military tribunes march an army against the Volsci and Latines, but by ill conduct suffer it to be inclosed by the enemy. Camillus hereupon is, a third time, named dictator; he raises new forces, rescues the army in distress, and forces the enemy's camp, after which he takes the capital city of the Æqui, subdues the Volsci, and recovers Sutrium from the Heturians. II. The next year (when the commonwealth is again governed by military tribunes) the Roman arms prosper abroad. The year following is a year of peace. FOUR NEW TRIBES are added to the TWENTY-ONE. III. The expectation of a new war makes the Romans choose Camillus to be one of the six military tribunes for the next year. He leads the Roman troops first against the Volsci of Antium, and then against the Heturians; and has success in both expeditions. The Latines and Hernici submit. 366.

Four new Tribes.

#### CHAP. II.

I. The next year military tribunes being again chosen to the government, M. Manlius (who saved the capitol) uses such methods to make himself popular, as alarm the 367.

senate. They name A. Cornelius Cossus dictator. He summons Manlius to appear before him. Manlius not answering directly to the dictator's question is committed to prison. Cossus soon after resigns the dictatorship. The senate, fearing the rage of the people, who are devoted to

370. Manlius, set him at liberty. II. Camillus is chosen one of the military tribunes for the next year. Two of the tribunes of the commons impeach Manlius of treason, and, by sentence of the people, he is thrown headlong from the Tarpeian rock.

M. Manlius  
put to  
death.

### CHAP. III.

I. During the six following years, and the beginning of the seventh, Rome is almost entirely free from civil dissensions; but wars are carried on abroad against the Prænestini and Volsci, with very little interruption. Camillus being one of the military tribunes in the year 373, gives a remarkable proof of his moderation, when disrespectfully treated by one of his colleagues.

### CHAP. IV.

377. I. The lower sort of the people of Rome are overawed and oppressed by the great and the rich; and the commons in general lose that spirit and courage they formerly had in contending with the nobles. II. In the midst of this extreme dejection, the vanity of a woman sets three bold and enterprising men at work to raise the fortune of the plebeians higher than ever, and to obtain even the dignity of the consulship for persons of that order. The three who form this design are M. Fabius Ambustus, the lady's father, (a patrician); C. Licinius Stolo, her husband (a plebeian); and L. Sextius, another plebeian of great distinction. The two latter having obtained the office of tribunes of the people, propose a law for the restraining of usury, another to prohibit any citizen from possessing more than five hundred acres of land, and a third to restore the consulate, and make it an established rule for the future, that of the two consuls one shall indispensably be a plebeian. The senate and patricians on this occasion gain over to them eight of the tribunes, who pronouncing the word *reto* when the affair is brought before the tribes, quash the
378. whole project for the present. III. Licinius and Sextius

LICINIAN  
LAWS.



in revenge, and to gain their point, being continued in the office of tribunes of the commons, oppose and hinder for four years successively any election of military tribunes; and the republic falls into a kind of anarchy. 382.

But, in the fifth year, a new war breaking out, obliges them to desist from their opposition; and then six military tribunes, all patricians, are chosen to the government. The war continuing, military tribunes are again elected, and these too are six men of the patrician order. 383.

Nevertheless, as Fabius Ambustus happens to be one of the number, Sextius and Licinius, having his countenance and assistance, take this opportunity to renew their proposal of the three laws; to which they add a fourth, importing, that ten guardians, instead of two, shall have the care of the Sybilline books, and that of these ten, five shall be plebeian. The determination of the whole affair is suspended on account of the absence of so many citizens as are employed in the war. IV. The next year 384.

the republic has again six patrician governors, but the senate is obliged to have recourse to a dictator, and Camillus is raised (a fourth time) to that dignity. He disperses by his authority an assembly of the tribes, which the tribunes had convened in order to get the laws passed; and presently after resigns his post. V. P. Manlius is chosen dictator in his room. This dictator names a plebeian to be his general of the horse, the first instance of such a nomination. The tribunes, having a supreme magistrate so favourable to them, think of pushing their affair with fresh vigour; but the people themselves grow cold and indifferent as to that part of the project which relates to the consulate. Sextius and Licinius, enraged hereat, tell them plainly, in a general assembly, that either that law, which qualifies plebeians for the consulate, shall pass, or none; and that if they persist in such ingratitude to their protectors, they will no longer serve in the office of the tribuneship. Appius Claudius, (grandson of the decemvir) makes a speech, expatiating on the insolence shown in such a declaration. The decision of the affair is put off. Soon after the commons obtain the law concerning the Sybils' books, and then suffer new military tribunes to be chosen, all patricians. IV. The contest relating to the other laws is revived with great heat, but is again suspended by the approach of an army of Gauls. 385.

Plebeian  
general of  
the horse.

386.

Camillus is appointed dictator (a fifth time.) He defeats the enemy, and has a triumph at his return to Rome. VII. The tribunes, Sextius and Licinius, being resolved to carry their point, summon the tribes, and proceed immediately to take the voices. Upon the dictator's opposing their measures, they send an officer to seize him and carry him to prison. This causes a great commotion and struggle. The dictator and senate retire to the senate-house, to consider what is best to be done, and they

PLEBEIAN  
CONSUL.

come to a resolution to concede that one of the consuls may be plebeian. Hereupon the centuries choose L. Æmilius and L. Sextius (the tribune) to the consulate. But now the senate refuses to confirm the election of the latter, which occasions new and warm contentions. The dictator, to quiet them, proposes that the prerogative of judging in civil causes be taken from the consulate, and prætors be appointed to perform that function, and that these prætors be always patricians. Hereto both parties agree, and the senate acquiesce in having a plebeian consul.

PRÆTORS.

387. VIII. The curule ædileship is established in favour of the patricians. The tribunes soon after obtain, that plebeians may be chosen to the curule ædileship. IX. The next year, L. Genucius and Q. Servilius being consuls, a dreadful plague in Rome carries off many persons of distinction, among whom is the great Camillus.

CURULE  
ÆDILES.

388.

CAMILLUS  
dies.

#### CHAP. V.

389. I. In the following consulate (of C. Sulpicius and C. Licinius Stolo) the plague continuing, and the Romans, to remove it, having in vain tried the superstitious ceremony of the *lectisternium*, they endeavour to appease the gods by instituting to their honour the *scenic shows*. This expedient also failing, they try another the next year (L. Æmilius, the second time, and Cn. Genucius being consuls) which is, to create a dictator to drive a nail into the wall of the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus. The plague ceases; but L. Manlius Imperiosus the dictator is unwilling to resign his authority, and uses violence to make the people list themselves for a war with the Hernici. The tribunes however oblige him to abdicate; and
391. in the following consulate of Q. Servilius and L. Genucius (both consuls a second time) he is cited by the tribune Pomponius, to answer for his misconduct during his

L. Manlius  
Imperiosus.



dictatorship, (and particularly for his cruelty to his own son, named Titus.) The son, who was in the country, hearing of what had passed, comes to Rome, surprises Pomponius in his bed, and, by threatening to stab him, makes him swear to desist from the prosecution. The people, pleased with the filial piety of young Manlius, give him soon after the post of legionary tribune (or colonel). II. In this same year the earth opens on a sudden in the midst of the Forum, and continues open, to the great terror of the city. M. Curtius, a young patrician, moved by an obscure answer of the augurs, who had been thereupon consulted, leaps into the gulf completely armed and on horseback. Some authors say, that the earth immediately closed. III. The consul Genucius, the first plebeian Rome had ever placed at the head of an army, conducts the war against the Hernici. He falls into an ambush, his legions are routed, and he himself slain. This disaster is imputed by the patricians to the anger of the gods, on account of the profanation of the augural ceremonies, by inaugurating a plebeian. The surviving consul names Appius Claudius dictator, who carrying on the war, gains a victory, but with great loss. IV. The people, notwithstanding the clamours of the patricians, choose Licinius Stolo (that famous plebeian) a second time to the consulate. They give him for a colleague, C. Sulpicius Peticus. But the Tyburtes revolting soon after, and it being suspected that they were encouraged to this revolt by a secret promise of assistance from the Gauls, it is thought necessary to create a dictator. T. Quinctius Pennas is named to that dignity. The Gauls advance within three miles of Rome, encamping on the banks of the Anio. The Romans pitch their camp on the opposite side; a bridge parts the two armies. On this bridge young Manlius in single combat slays the mightiest champion of the Gauls, a man of gigantic stature; which accident so discourages them, that they leave their camp in the night, and in confusion. The next year, (in the consulate of M. Fabius Ambuscus and C. Pœtelius Libo) the Gauls appear again in the neighbourhood of Rome; and the Romans (under the conduct of Servilius Ahala, created dictator) once more defeat them. The two consuls make war with success against the Tyburtes and the Hernici.

CURTIUS.

PLEBEIAN  
CONSUL.PLEBEIAN  
GENERAL.

PATRICIAN

392.

393.

CURTIUS  
PLEBEIAN

394.

CURTIUS  
PLEBEIAN

395.

T. Manlius  
Torquatus.

396.

T. Manlius  
Torquatus.

397.

## CHAP. VI.

394. I. The fasces are transferred to M. Popilius Lænas and Cn. Manlius. A domestic sedition, soon quelled; an incursion of the Tyburtes, soon repulsed; and the commencement of a new war against Rome by the Tarquinienses, are the chief events of this consulship. II. The succeeding consuls are C. Fabius Ambustus and C. Plautius Proculus. The Gauls appear on a sudden in the plains of Præneste. Hereupon C. Sulpicius is named dictator, who, with an army strengthened by the Latines; (who now renew their ancient treaties with Rome) marches against the Gauls. The dictator, for prudential reasons, avoids an engagement with the enemy, till he is forced to it by the mutinying of his soldiers, impatiently ardent to fight. By the help of a new stratagem, he obtains a complete victory. He has a triumph at his return, and then resigns the government to the consuls. Plautius subdues the Hernici; but Fabius is vanquished by the Tarquinienses. III. TWO NEW TRIBES are formed. A law is passed against openly canvassing for votes. Another,
395. (in the following administration of C. Marcius Rutilus and Cn. Manlius, who is now a second time consul) fixing the legal interest of money at one per cent. Licinius Stolo, author of the law against any man's possessing more than five hundred acres of land, is convicted of a breach of it. A law is passed against holding the *comitia* in any place but Rome. IV. New consuls are chosen. M. Fabius Ambustus and M. Popilius Lænas (both a second time;) but, the Falisci and Tarquinienses having engaged all Hetruria to take part with them against Rome, C. Marcius Rutilus, the PLEBEIAN consul of the last year, is named
396. dictator by Popilius the plebeian consul of this, to the great displeasure of the nobles. He obtains a complete victory over the enemy, and has a triumph, in spite of the opposition of the senate. However, he is not suffered (because a plebeian) to hold the *comitia* for the new election of consuls. The assembly is held by an inter-
397. rex, and then two patricians, (C. Sulpicius Peticus, a third time, and M. Valerius) are chosen to the consulate, contrary to the intent of one of the Licinian laws, and the custom for eleven years past. The next year the

Two new  
Tribes.

PLEBEIAN  
DICTATOR.



fasces are again in the hands of two patricians. These 399.  
 are M. Fabius Ambustus (a third time consul) and T.  
 Quinctius Pennas. The former subdues the Tyburtes, the  
 latter defeats the Tarquinienses. (The Samnites conclude  
 an alliance with the Romans.) The nobles prevail once  
 more to have only patricians in the government. C. Sul-  
 picius Peticus (a fourth time) and M. Valerius (a second  
 time) are promoted to the consulate. The former is ap- 400.  
 pointed to lead an army into Hetruria against the Tar-  
 quinienses and Falisci; the latter another against the Volsci;  
 and soon after, T. Manlius (who had never been CONSUL)  
 is named DICTATOR, to conduct a third army against the  
 Cœrites. The Cœrites submit. The consuls act only on  
 the defensive.

DICTATOR  
 who had not  
 been Consul.

## CHAP. VII.

I. The tribunes of the people oppose the holding of  
 the *comitia* for electing new magistrates, till the dictator-  
 ship of Manlius and the consular year are expired; and  
 during the interregnum, that follows, they prevail to have  
 C. Marcius Rutilus, a plebeian, raised (now a second time) 401.  
 to the consulate with P. Valerius. These magistrates take  
 effectual measures to relieve the debtors, in order to main-  
 tain peace at home. II. Upon a false rumour that the  
 twelve lucumonies of Hetruria are preparing for a war  
 with Rome, Julius Iulus is named dictator. Julius employs  
 his influence to get two patricians chosen to the consulate  
 for the next year. The people, though they oppose this  
 design, and hinder the meeting of the centuries during  
 his dictatorship, suffer C. Sulpicius (now a fifth time) and 402.  
 T. Quinctius Cincinnatus, both patricians, to be declared  
 consuls when the *comitia* are afterwards held by an inter-  
 rex. Nevertheless, in this very consulate, the commons  
 prevail, for the first time, to have a PLEBEIAN chosen to  
 the CENSORSHIP. This was the same C. Marcius Rutilus  
 who had been created DICTATOR in 397. III. And not-  
 withstanding that the present consuls name a dictator,  
 to hold the *comitia* for the election of their successors, in  
 order to get two patricians chosen, M. Popilius Lænas, 402.  
 a plebeian, is promoted (now a third time) to the consu-  
 late with L. Cornelius Scipio. Cornelius falling sick, the  
 plebeian consul has the sole conduct of a new war with  
 the Gauls. M. Valerius, the PRÆTOR of Rome, is placed

PLEBEIAN  
 CENSOR.

A PRÆTOR  
 commands  
 an army.



- at the head of an army to defend the city ; this being the first instance of a PRÆTOR's acting as a GENERAL. Popilius defeats the Gauls in battle ; but being disabled from doing business, by a wound, and his colleague continuing sick, they name Furius Camillus dictator, to hold the *comitia*
404. for the new elections, where the dictator himself, with Appius Claudius Crassus (both patricians) are chosen consuls. Appius dying shortly after, Camillus is suffered to govern the republic without a colleague. He marches a powerful army against the Gauls, who had spread themselves on the sea-coast of Latium. M. VALERIUS, (afterwards surnamed CORVUS) a legionary tribune, kills in single combat a champion of the Gauls, and this occasions a general action, in which the Romans obtain the victory. Camillus being obliged still to keep the field, in order to hinder the descent of some Greek pirates on the coast, names T. Manlius dictator, to hold the *comitia* for the new elections. Manlius, pleased with the exploit of Valerius, resembling what he himself had formerly done, influences the people to choose him, though but twenty-three years of age, to be one of the consuls. The colleague given him is Popilius Lænas, now promoted the fourth time to that dignity. IV. The Romans conclude a treaty with the Carthaginians. V. In the following consul
- Valerius  
Corvus.
- Consul  
twenty-  
three years  
old.
- 405 Treaty with  
Carthage.
406. consulate of C. Plautius Hypsæus and T. Manlius Torquatus, the interest of money is lowered to half *per cent.* A new war with the Volsci breaks out during the administration of their successors, Valerius Corvus (now a second time
407. consul) and C. Pœtelius Libo. Valerius defeats the enemy, takes from them Satricum, and burns it. The secular games are celebrated for the second time according to
408. Fast. Cap. VI. The next year's consuls, M. Fabius Dorso and S. Sulpicius Camerinus, name L. Furius Camillus to be dictator (a second time) on occasion of a war with a new enemy, the Aurunci. Furius overthrows them in battle, and at his return builds a temple, which he had vowed, during the action, to Juno Moneta. The year following the Romans imagining that the goddess, con-
409. formable to her name MONETA, admonished them by prodigies of the impending wrath of the gods, C. Marcius Rutilus (now consul a second time) and T. Manlius, (a second time) appoint P. Valerius to be dictator, to order the celebration of the *Feriæ Latinæ*.

## CHAP. VIII.

I. In the succeeding administration of M. Valerius 410.  
 Corvus (a third time consul) and Cornelius Cossius Ar-  
 vina, happens the FIRST RUPTURE between the ROMANS and  
 SAMNITES, on occasion of a war which the latter had car-  
 ried on with success against the people of Capua in Cam-  
 pania. The Campanians, to engage the Romans to suc-  
 cour them in their distress, make a surrendry of them-  
 selves and their country to the republic. Hereupon Va-  
 lerius is directed to march an army into Campania, and  
 Cornelius to carry the war into Samnium. Valerius, in  
 an action with the Samnites, has the advantage. II. Cor- SAMNITE  
 nelius, on the other hand, by an imprudent march, brings WAR.  
 his army into danger of being entirely cut off by the  
 enemy; however, he is delivered out of his difficulty by  
 a stratagem, suggested and executed by a legionary tri-  
 bune, named P. Decius Mus; and presently after, follow-  
 ing the advice of the same Decius, he gains a victory over Decius Mus.  
 the Samnites, who lose 30,000 men in the action. Decius  
 is rewarded with many honours. III. Valerius obtains a  
 second victory over the Samnites in Campania. These  
 successes make the Romans respected abroad.

## CHAP. IX.

I. C. Marcius Rutilus is elected (the fourth time) to the 411.  
 consulate, and with him Q. Servilius Ahala. The former  
 marches an army into Campania. He finds a general  
 depravation of manners in some cohorts of Roman soldiers  
 who had been left in Capua all the winter; and discovers  
 that they had plotted to make that delightful city their  
 own, and to settle there. To disappoint this scheme, he  
 artfully contrives to send away the most mutinous and  
 enterprising, without treating them disgracefully, or let-  
 ting his design appear. The soldiers at length suspecting  
 it, are alarmed with the apprehension of punishment. All  
 the soldiers of one cohort desert. These having posted  
 themselves advantageously near Anxur, are soon joined  
 by great numbers of malecontents from the city and the  
 camp. They force one Quinctius, an old soldier, whom  
 they find employed in husbandry, to be their leader to

conduct them to Rome. Valerius Corvus is hereupon named dictator, to march an army against the mutineers. He meets them eight miles from Rome, comes to a parley with them, and, being a man extremely beloved by the soldiers, prevails with them to submit; yet the rebels, besides pardon, obtain some concessions from the republic.

## CHAP. X.

412. I. The Romans, by these condescensions to the rebels, lose credit among their neighbours. Privernum revolts, but is quickly reduced by C. Plautius Hypsæus (now the second time consul.) His colleague L. Æmilius lays waste the country of the Samnites, who thereupon sue for peace, and an alliance with Rome. These being obtained, they turn their arms once more against the Sidicini, who being refused succour by the senate at Rome, even upon the terms of being subject to the republic, give themselves to the Latines, already in arms, to recover their independence. The Campanians join the Latines. An army, formed of these three nations, enters Samnium, but soon retires. II. The Samnites send an embassy to the republic, to complain of her suffering the Latines and Campanians to commit hostilities in Samnium. They receive an answer unsatisfactory to them, offensive to the Campanians, and which, seeming to betray a sense of weakness
413. in the Romans, elates the spirits of the Latines. Manlius Torquatus is promoted (a third time) to the consulate with P. Decius Mus. Alexander king of Epirus, uncle of Alexander the Great, comes into Italy on the invitation of the Tarentines, to make war with the Bruttians, and concludes an alliance of friendship with Rome. III. The Romans summon ten of the Latine chiefs to appear at Rome, and give account of their preparations for war. The Latine council send L. Annius with nine more to Rome, to demand, as the condition of renewing the alliance between the two nations, that one of the consuls and half of the senate of Rome be for the future chosen out of the LATINES. This demand is rejected with indignation, and war is declared. IV. Manlius and Decius having marched two armies into the field, and encamped near the enemy, dream both of them the same dream concerning the event of the war. V. The consul Manlius causes his



own son to be beheaded, for having fought in single combat with one of the enemies officers, though he proved victorious; because he had fought without leave from his general. VI. The Romans come to a battle with the Latines. The wing where the consul Decius commands beginning to lose ground, he, to recover the day to his party, and pursuant to the interpretation which had been given of his dream, devotes himself to death, rushing alone into the thickest of the enemy. His troops getting fresh courage and strength from superstition, and Manlius conducting the battle with great skill, the Latines are totally routed, and fly to Minturnæ. Manlius gives them a second overthrow, after which both they and the Campanians submit, and are most of them dispossessed of their lands. VII. In the following consulate of Q. Publilius and T. Æmilius some of the Latines rebel, and form two armies. Publilius succeeding in an expedition against one of them, is decreed a triumph. Æmilius, not having equal success against the other, is refused that honour. Hereupon he inveighs against the senate, and incites the people to sedition; and because the senate, to prevent disturbances, order him to name a dictator, he in revenge nominates to that dignity his plebeian colleague. The dictator, during his whole administration, employs his power and influence for the advantage of the plebeians, and obtains some laws in their favour. The senate to pique Æmilius, tender of his honour, enable the next year's consuls, L. Furius Camillus and C. Mænius, to finish with glory the war which he had left unfinished. VIII. The Romans determine the fate of the several conquered cities. The Latines, from being allies, are made subjects of Rome.

Severity of  
Manlius  
Torquatus.

Devote-  
ment of  
DECIVS.

414.

415.

LATINES  
subjected.

## CHAP. XI.

I. In the following consulate of C. Sulpicius Longus and P. Ælius Pætus, PUBLILIUS, though a plebeian, obtains the PRÆTORSHIP; so that all the great dignities in the state, except those of the priesthood, are now common to the two orders. From this year 416, to the year 425, the most memorable events are, the invention of moveable towers and covered galleries, by the consul M. Valerius Coryus (in the year 418) at the siege of Cale, the chief

PLEBEIAN  
PRÆTOR.

418.

Two new  
tribes.

- city of the Ausones, allies of the Sidicini. The republic's changing the custom of raising a new army upon every change of consuls. The reduction of the Sidicini (probably in 420.) The addition of two new tribes (in 421) 422. to the twenty-seven old ones. A plot formed (in 422) by some hundreds of Roman women to poison their husbands.

Priver-  
nates.

- The revolt of Privernum (in 423) the reduction of that city (in 424) and the courageous and noble answer given 424. by one of the citizens, when questioned by the Roman senate concerning the conduct which the Privernates would observe for the future.

## CHAP. XII.

425. I. The next year (in the consulate of C. Plautius Proculus and P. Cornelius Scapula) the Romans give umbrage to the Samnites by planting a colony in their neighbourhood. And the Palæopolitans make an irruption into the Roman territory. II. A remarkable instance of the Romans' abhorrence of malice, in the prosecution of a criminal. III. The fasces being transferred to Q. Publilius (now a second time consul) and L. Cornelius Lentulus, the former marches an army against the Palæopolitans. Cornelius encamps another near Capua, to keep in awe the Campanians, who are thought to be gained over by the Samnites, between whom and the republic there is a new rupture. IV. The next year's consuls, C. Pæteli-  
427. Libo and L. Papirius Mugillanus, having their forces strengthened by the Lucanians and Apulians, take some towns from the Samnites. And Publilius (who with the title of PROCONSUL is continued at the head of the same army he had commanded the last year when consul) takes Palæopolis by means of a stratagem laid and executed by two of the citizens. For this exploit Publilius, though but  
A procon-  
sul tri-  
umphs.  
A law in  
favour of  
debtors.
- a proconsul, is decreed a TRIUMPH. V. The Tarentines having lost their protector, king Alexander of Epirus, and being jealous of the growing power of Rome, by an artful stratagem deprive her of all assistance from the Lucanians, seducing them into a league with the Samnites. VI. About this time the infamous passion of a Roman named Papirius, for one of his insolvent debtors, occasions the passing of a law at Rome, whereby CREDITORS are disabled from seizing the persons of their DEBTORS.



## CHAP. XIII.

I. The Vestini, a people on the coast of the Adriatic sea, take arms against Rome, in the consulate of L. Furius Camillus and D. Junius Brutus. Brutus defeats them in battle. II. Camillus, who was to act against the Samnites, falling sick, names to the dictatorship L. Papirius Cursor, who appoints Quintus Fabius Rullianus to be his general of the horse. The dictator having taken the field against the Samnites, returns soon after to Rome on account of some religious scruple, but first forbids Fabius to hazard a battle with the enemy during his absence. Fabius nevertheless attacks the Samnites, and gains a notable victory; after which he burns all the spoil, that it may not do honour to the dictator, by being carried in his triumphal procession. Papirius hastens back to the camp to punish his disobedient general of the horse. Fabius is rescued out of the hands of the lictors, and escapes to Rome. His father immediately gets the senators together, in order to obtain a favourable decree for him. Papirius arrives on a sudden, takes his place in the senate, and orders his lictors to seize young Fabius. The father hereupon appeals to the people. Papirius, though the thing is unprecedented, does not dispute the legality of the appeal; but the people themselves, when the affair comes before them, are unwilling to interpose their authority; they choose rather to become intercessors with the dictator, who at their request pardons the offender. III. Papirius returns to the camp with a new general of the horse, and finding his army ill affected to him, because of his severity in command, changes his manner on a sudden, becomes familiar with his soldiers, and in a little time gains their affections. After which he reduces the Samnites to sue for peace. IV. The senate grant the Samnites only a year's truce, which the latter break as soon as they hear that Papirius has quitted the dictatorship: they are joined by the Apulians. Little progress is made in the war this year, when C. Sulpicius Longus and Q. Aulius Cerretanus are consuls. But their successors, Q. Fabius (who had been general of the horse to Papirius) and L. Fulvius Curvus, by skilful conduct obtain a complete victory over the enemy. V. The Samnites repenting of their breach of the truce, endeavour to pacify the Romans

428.

Papirius  
Cursor and  
Q. Fabius.

429.

430.

431.

by making restitution of what plunder they had taken contrary to the faith of the treaty.

#### CHAP. XIV.

I. The Samnites being refused a peace, notwithstanding the satisfaction they have made for the breach of the truce, prepare to carry on the war with vigour: and they appoint one Pontius, an able officer, to be their general. At Rome T. Veturius and Sp. Posthumius are chosen consuls. Pontius by a stratagem draws these generals with their legions into a dangerous pass (called afterwards the Caudine Forks) where they are surrounded by the Samnites, and have no possibility of forcing their way out of it. The Samnite general being undetermined in what manner to treat the Romans, is advised by his father, either in a friendly way to set them all free, or without mercy to cut them all off. The son, rejecting this advice, will spare the lives of the Romans, but demands as the condition, that they all pass unarmed under the yoke, officers and soldiers; that they engage to draw all their forces out of Samnium, and give hostages for the performance of this article. The Romans, after some demur, submit to the terms imposed, being exhorted to it by L. Lentulus, a considerable officer in the army. The consuls, at their return to Rome, being ashamed to appear in public, instantly name a dictator to hold the *comitia* for electing new consuls. This election however is not made till the government falls into an interregnum. II. And then the fasces are given to Papirius Cursor (a second time) and to Publilius Philo (a third time.) The treaty made with the Samnites being laid before the senate, Posthumius (one of those consuls who had been parties to it) declares that the Roman people are not bound by it, as not being made by their orders; that the honour of the republic will be saved by surrendering him and the rest of the officers concerned in that treaty to the Samnites, which he moves may be forthwith done. This proposal is approved, and put in execution by a *facialis* appointed thereto; but Pontius, the Samnite general, reproaching the Romans with baseness and breach of faith, refuses to accept the prisoners in satisfaction of the treaty. III. Satricum revolts from the Romans; and the Samnites

432.

Caudine  
Forks.

433.

surprise Fregellæ, a Roman colony, and, after a promise of quarter, burn the inhabitants alive. C. Mænius, being appointed dictator to take cognizance of treasonable practices, and alleging all canvassing for offices to be treason against the state, cites several patricians to trial on accusations of that sort; but he is forced, by the clamour of the whole body of the nobles, to desist; and being himself accused of the same crime, abdicates his office, stands a trial, and is acquitted.

## CHAP. XV.

I. Cornelius Lentulus being created dictator, leads an army against the Samnites encamped near Caudium, and gives them a great overthrow. Papirius Cursor, his general of the horse, takes from them Luceria (in Apulia) and rescues the six hundred Roman knights, who had been given as hostages upon the treaty with Pontius. II. Papirius is chosen (a third time) and Q. Aulius Cerretannus (a second time) to the consulate. The latter takes Frentum, the former recovers Satricum from the Samnites. The character of Papirius. III. In the consulate of L. Plautius and M. Foslius, a two years' truce is granted to some cities of Samnium. The Roman arms prosper in Apulia. Campania is turned into a Roman præfecture. Two new TRIBES are formed, which make the whole number thirty-one. IV. The next year (Q. Æmilius and C. Junius being consuls) all Apulia is subdued. Antium receives laws from Rome for its future government. The succeeding consuls, Sp. Nautius and M. Popilius, name a dictator, to begin the siege of Saticula, a Campanian city in alliance with the Samnites; and notwithstanding that those two great men, Papirius Cursor and Publilius Philo, are both chosen (the fourth time) to the consulate for the year following, the carrying on of that siege is committed to another dictator Q. Fabius, the enemy and rival of Papirius. Fabius having taken Saticula, marches to besiege Sora (in the country of the Volsci) which had gone over to the Samnites. By an artful stratagem he defeats the Samnites in the field, but leaves the siege of Sora to be finished by the next year's consuls, M. Patilius and C. Sulpicius (who is now chosen the third time.) These generals take Sora by means of a stratagem suggested to them by a deserter from the place.

434.

435.

Two new  
tribes.  
436.

437.

438.

439.



- V. The Romans surprise three cities of the Ausones in one day. Luceria in Apulia rebels, and is again reduced. The
440. Samnites are once more defeated in battle by the Romans. The next year, when L. Papirius Cursor (a fifth time) and C. Junius Brutus (a second time) are consuls, C. Pœtilius Libo is named dictator to carry on the war. He recovers
441. several cities from the Samnites. The year following, when M. Valerius and P. Decius are in the consulate, the Romans being alarmed with the apprehensions of a war with all Hetrumia, appoint C. Sulpicius Longus dictator to conduct it; but no hostilities ensue on either side.

## CHAP. XVI.

- I. Appius Claudius, one of the censors of Rome, displeases the senate, by admitting the SONS OF FREED MEN into that
442. body. The people reform this abuse the next year, when C. Junius (the third time) and Q. Æmilius (the second
443. time) are consuls, and make some new regulations. II. Æmilius routs the Hetrumians. III. During the administration of Q. Fabius (a second time consul) and C. Marcius, the censor Appius obstinately refuses to quit his office, though his eighteen months (the legal time for its duration) are expired, presuming on the favour of the people, because he had made an aqueduct to bring water to Rome, and a fine road between that city and Capua. He is prosecuted before the people; seven of the tribunes are against him, but the other three taking him under their protection, he carries his point, and keeps his post.

APPIUS  
CLAUDIUS  
CENSOR.

## CHAP. XVII.

- I. The consul Fabius defeats the Hetrumians in battle near Sutrium. He penetrates into the Ciminian forest, deemed impervious; after which he gives the enemy a second overthrow. II. The Roman army, under the consul Marcius, not having equal success against the Samnites, and the consul falling sick, the senate orders Fabius to name Papirius Cursor (the man he most hates) to be dictator to carry on
444. that war. Fabius, after some struggle with himself, complies. III. He continues (with the title of proconsul) to conduct the war against the Hetrumians, and routs them

once more, though the soldiers of their army had bound themselves by oaths to conquer or die. IV. The dictator, Papirius, is no less successful against the Samnites, who, to raise the courage of their troops, had given them finer arms than usual. He returns to Rome, and, being now very old, retires for the rest of his life from public business. V. Q. Fabius (a third time) and P. Decius Mus (a second time) 445. are chosen consuls. Fabius conducts the war with success against the Samnites, assisted by the Marsi and Peligni. Decius reduces the Hetrurians to sue for an alliance with Rome, but they obtain only a truce for one year. He subdues all Umbria. VI. Appius Claudius, the censor, is 446. chosen to the consulate with L. Volumnius. Appius stays at Rome, while Fabius (in quality of proconsul) carries on the war prosperously in Samnium, and Volumnius leads an army with success against the Salentines. In the following 447. consulate of Q. Marcius and P. Cornelius the *HERNICI* rebel, and are subdued; and the *SAMNITES* are twice defeated. The fasces being transferred to Posthumius Megellus and 448. Tib. Minucius, the Romans gain two more victories over the Samnites, but Minucius is slain in the second battle. VII. In the succeeding consulate of Sempronius Sophus 449. and P. Sulpicius Saverrio, the Samnites request and obtain a renewal of their old alliance with Rome. The *ÆQUI*, who had lately rebelled, are totally subdued.

## CHAP. XVIII.

I. The renowned Q. Fabius being *CENSOR* this year, acquires the surname of *MAXIMUS*, for his reformation of an abuse introduced by *APPIUS*, who had dispersed great numbers of the freed men and meanest of the people into all the rustic tribes, thereby to influence the elections according to his own humour. (One *Flavius*, who had been a scribe, is by the strength of this base faction raised to the curule ædileship.) Fabius reconfines those mean fellows to the four city tribes. II. The next year (when *Cornelius* 450. *Lentulus* and *L. Genucius* are consuls) is spent chiefly in sending colonies to the conquered cities. In the succeeding consulate of *Livius Denter* and *Æmilius Paulus*, the art 451. of painting is introduced at Rome by *C. Fabius*, surnamed *FABIUS PICTOR*. *Cleonymus*, son of *Cleomenès*, king of *Sparta*; *PICTOR*.

452. brings a fleet upon the coast of Italy, and makes two descents there without success. III. All the following year the republic is governed by two dictators, successively created, Q. Fabius and Valerius Corvus. The former quells an insurrection of the Marsi; the latter obtains a signal victory over the Heturians, to whom afterwards a truce is granted for two years.

## CHAP. XIX.

453. I. In the year of Rome 453, when Valerius Corvus is the fifth time consul, and has Q. Apuleius Pansa for his colleague, a LAW is passed at the motion of two tribunes, of the name of Ogulnius, to qualify PLEBEIANS for the pontificate and augurate. II. The Lex Valeria is confirmed anew. III. Q. Fabius Maximus declines the consulship, to which the people would again raise him, and at his own request obtains the curule ædileship, in which office he gains new glory.

PLEBEIAN  
PONTI-  
FICES AND  
AUGURS.

## CHAP. XX.

454. I. The Heturians break the truce with Rome, in the consulate of M. Fulvius Pætinus and T. Manlius Torquatus. Picenum obtains an alliance with the republic. The consul Manlius, who was to act against the Heturians, being killed by a fall from his horse, Valerius Corvus is by every voice in the *comitia* declared consul (the sixth time) to succeed him. The very presence of so renowned a warrior strikes a terror into the enemy; they quit the field, and retire into their towns. (This was the last military expedition of that great man, who lived to an hundred years of age.) II. In the close of the following consulate of Cn. Fulvius and L. Cornelius Scipio, a report being spread, that both the Heturians and the Samnites, (which last had broke their alliance with Rome) were making mighty preparations to attack the republic, the Romans cast their eyes on the great Fabius to be one of their consuls for the new year, and they oblige him to accept the office contrary to his inclination; but, at his request, give him P. Decius Mus (who had been consul with him in the year 445) to be his colleague. The Heturians, instead of taking the field, come to a resolution
- 455.
- 456.



to ask peace; so that the consuls march their two armies into Samnium, and make terrible devastations in that country.

## CHAP. XXI.

I. Appius Claudius, who two years before had made a fruitless attempt to exclude the plebeians from the consulate, endeavours now with the same view to get the consular fasces for Fabius and himself. Fabius being president in the *comitia*, opposes his own re-election; whereupon Volumnius Flamma, a plebeian, is joined with Appius in the consulship. Fabius and Decius (in quality of proconsuls) are continued in the command of their respective armies for six months longer. Fabius hinders the Lucanians from joining the Samnites. Decius gains great advantages over the latter, to complete whose destruction Volumnius marches a new army into Samnium.

457.

II. But he soon after leaves that country to go to the assistance of his colleague Appius, much embarrassed with a war against the Hetrurians, strengthened by a body of Samnites, and another of Gauls. Appius pretends to be displeased with his arrival, upon which Volumnius offers to lead back his army into Samnium: but the troops of Appius oppose this motion. The united armies of the two consuls come to a battle with the enemy, and totally defeat them. III. After this Volumnius returns into his own province, and gains a new victory over the Samnites, who (after Fabius and Decius, whose proconsulate was expired, were returned to Rome) had made an incursion into Campania.

Appius  
Claudius  
and Vo-  
lumnus.

## CHAP. XXII.

I. The republic being alarmed by accounts from Appius, of extraordinary preparations for war by the Hetrurians and their allies, (the Umbrians, Gauls, and Samnites) elect Fabius (the fifth time) to the consulate, and, at his request, the *comitia* grant him Decius again for a colleague, though the first centuries have already voted for Volumnius. Volumnius himself approves of the request. II. A rivalry happens at this time between the patrician and plebeian ladies, for the reputation of strict chastity. III. When the time comes for the consuls to

Fabius and  
Decius.

458.

take the field, the senate decree the conduct of the war against the Hettrurians to Fabius. Decius, (to comply with the humour of his party, the plebeians) refuses to yield that command to his patrician colleague, unless it fall to him by lot; and he appeals from the senate's decree to the people. The people having heard the pleas of the two competitors, and considered the present exigence, determine in favour of Fabius as the greater general. IV. Fabius in his way to the camp being informed that Appius has fortified it in such an extraordinary manner as betrays fear, sends orders before him immediately to level the fortifications: and, after his arrival, instead of shutting up his soldiers within lines, he keeps them in constant motion by frequent marches and counter-marches. Before he enters upon action, he returns to Rome, but for what reason is uncertain. The senate, that he may be able to contend with the enemy, judging it necessary to strengthen him by a second army, Fabius desires that his colleague Decius may be the general to command it; which request is granted. The consuls, having sent Volumnius with an army into Samnium, and leaving two other armies encamped near the city to cover it on the side of Hettruria, take the field. The forces of the enemy are divided into two bodies, which encamp separately: one consists of Samnites (who had been driven out of their own country) and Gauls; the other of Hettrurians and Umbrians. Fabius ordering the two armies he had left near Rome to go and ravage a part of Hettruria, the Hettrurians and Umbrians march away to defend it, and in their absence the consuls come to a battle with the united Gauls and Samnites. The left wing of the Romans, which Decius commands, being terrified and broken by the armed chariots used by the Gauls, he, to recover the courage of his men, devotes himself to death in the same manner his father had done on the like occasion. After this, Fabius obtains a complete victory. V. Before the end of the year the Samnites raise two new armies, which are routed by the forces of Appius, now prætor of Rome, and the proconsul Volumnius. Rome is afflicted by a plague, and terrified by prodigies.

Devote-  
ment of  
DECIVS.

## CHAP. XXIII.

I. L. Posthumius (the second time) and M. Atilius Regulus are chosen consuls. Posthumius falling sick, the war is carried on against the Samnites by Atilius at the head of only one consular army. The Samnites have the advantage in this campaign, till Posthumius, being recovered, brings a second Roman army into the field; they then retire, and leave their country open to be pillaged. While Posthumius is employed in taking some of their towns, Atilius marches to the relief of Luceria (in Apulia) besieged (as he was told) by the Samnites. He meets the enemy in his way, and comes to a battle with them, the success of which is such, that neither army cares to try a second engagement. Their situation however forces them to it; and then Atilius, by singular bravery and skill, obtains the victory. II. In the meantime Posthumius, without orders from the senate, leaves Samnium, and marches into Hetruria, where he reduces three of the lucumonies to sue for peace. Nevertheless, the fathers, at his return to Rome, refuse him a triumph, because of his irregular proceedings. He obtains it however by the favour of the people. III. In the new consulate of L. Papirius Cursor, (son of the famous Papirius) and Sp. Carvilius, the Samnite war is continued. The Samnites make 16,000 of their soldiers bind themselves by oaths and imprecations to conquer or die. Their whole army consists of 36,000. While Carvilius lays siege to Cominium, in the eastern extremity of Samnium, Papirius leads his forces against the formidable army of the enemy, encamped near Aquilonia in Hirpinia. He gains the victory by the new stratagem of making the muleteers and other servants of his army, (whom he mounted upon mules, and sent to some distance) appear in the heat of the action, like a new army come to his assistance. IV. Carvilius takes Cominium; after which the two consuls join their forces to complete the destruction of the Samnites. But the war breaking out afresh in Hetruria, Carvilius leads his army into that country, and reduces the enemy to buy a truce for a year. Both the consuls have triumphs. In this year a sun-dial is the first time seen

459.

460.

Sun-dial.



at Rome. V. A new regulation is made at Rome, relating to the guardianship of orphans, and another relating to the public games.

## CHAP. XXIV.

A snake  
imported  
to stop the  
plague.

461. I. Q. Fabius Gurgès (son of Fabius Maximus) is chosen to the consulate, though his father had opposed his promotion. The colleague given him is Junius Brutus Scæva. Neither the one nor the other is well qualified to conduct an army. Junius however being well assisted by Carvilius, the late consul, makes a successful expedition against the Falisci in Hetruria. But Gurgès, through his ill conduct, is shamefully vanquished in a battle with the Samnites. The people of Rome having resolved to punish him, old Fabius pacifies them, by offering to serve under his son the remainder of the campaign. Gurgès, assisted by his father's counsel, obtains a glorious victory over the enemy; and Pontius, the famous Samnite general, is taken prisoner. II. The Romans, to put a stop to the plague, send ambassadors to bring from Epidaurus the god Æsculapius, worshipped there under the form of a serpent.
462. III. The god arrives in the beginning of the next consulate of Posthumius, (now the third time chosen) and Junius Brutus Bubulcus. Posthumius proudly assumes to himself the conduct of the war in Samnium, without drawing lots with his colleague, or waiting for a decree of the senate in his favour. When he comes into the field, he, contrary to the will of the senate, obliges Fabius Gurgès, now proconsul, to desist from the siege of
463. Cominium, (which had been retaken by the Samnites) and leave it to him. He takes that town and another. The senate, nevertheless, to punish his disobedience, mortify him in several instances; and in the succeeding consulate (of P. Cornelius Rufinus and Manius Curius Dentatus) he is fined by the people for a misdemeanour during his magistracy. IV. The consul CURIUS, (a hero famous for living in a voluntary poverty) reduces the Samnites to ask PEACE, which is now granted them the fourth time, on the conditions prescribed by Curius, whom they in vain endeavour to bribe. V. He reduces SABINIA to a state of subjection to the republic, and has two tri-

CURIUS  
DENTATUS.

umphs decreed him for his exploits in one year. He is afterwards accused of embezzling some of the spoil taken from the enemy, but is honourably acquitted. VI. In quality of proconsul he carries the war into Lucania, the new consuls, M. Valerius Corvinus and Q. Cœdicius Noctua, spending their whole year in works of peace, and in sending colonies to the conquered cities. To relieve the prætor of Rome, three new judges are created to try malefactors. The cruelty of a creditor to his debtor, for whom he had conceived an infamous passion, occasions great commotions in Rome in the second consulates of Q. Marcius Tremulus and P. Cornelius Arvina, and a new secession of the people in the following year, when M. Claudius Marcellus and C. Nautius Rutilus are consuls. The patricians, to effect a reconciliation, are obliged to make concessions. Fabius Maximus, in his old age, is made dictator, to finish the accommodation; which done, he presides in the *comitia*, where M. Valerius Potitus and C. Ælius Pætus are chosen consuls. He soon after dies. The year of the new consuls proves barren of great events.

## CHAP. XXV.

I. Nothing memorable happens the next year, when C. Claudius Canina and M. Æmilius Lepidus are consuls. But in the following consulate of C. Servilius Tucca and L. Cæcilius Metellus, the Tarentines endeavour privately to stir up both old and new enemies against Rome. The Gauls, called Senones, murder some Roman ambassadors, who had been sent to persuade them to desist from the siege of Aretium in Hetruria; and they soon after give the Roman army, under the conduct of Cæcilius, a terrible overthrow. Curius Dentatus revenges this defeat by leading an army into the country of the Gauls, and laying it waste. II. The next year the Romans, under the consuls P. Cornelius and Cn. Domitius, vanquish in battle the Senones, the Boii, and the Hetrurians. The Samnites revolt. In the succeeding consulate of C. Fabricius and Q. Æmilius Papus, almost all Italy rises in arms against the republic. Fabricius defeats the confederate forces of the Lucanians, Bruttians, and Samnites. The Romans imagine that the god Mars had fought in person for them.

The Tarentines.

- III. The Tarentines, who had not yet openly appeared against Rome, fall in a hostile manner upon a Roman fleet, which chancs to come into their port. The Romans send to demand satisfaction. The Tarentines insult the ambassadors in the most outrageous manner, and then turn their thoughts to seek an alliance with Pyrrhus, king of Epirus, and to invite him into Italy. [A short account of this prince, and the state of his affairs at this time.] IV. The senate of Rome having long debated, whether to begin a war immediately with the Tarentines, or to defer it, determine for the first, and the people confirm their decree. 472. L. Æmilius, (who, with Q. Marcius, is now in the consulate) marches an army directly for Tarentum. The mad and ridiculous behaviour of the citizens on his approach. They resolve to invite Pyrrhus to their assistance. Æmilius endeavours to make them lay aside this design, by generously releasing some Tarentine prisoners he had taken. V. Pyrrhus accepts the invitation, and sends before him to Tarentum the famous Cyneas with 3000 men, who take possession of the citadel.

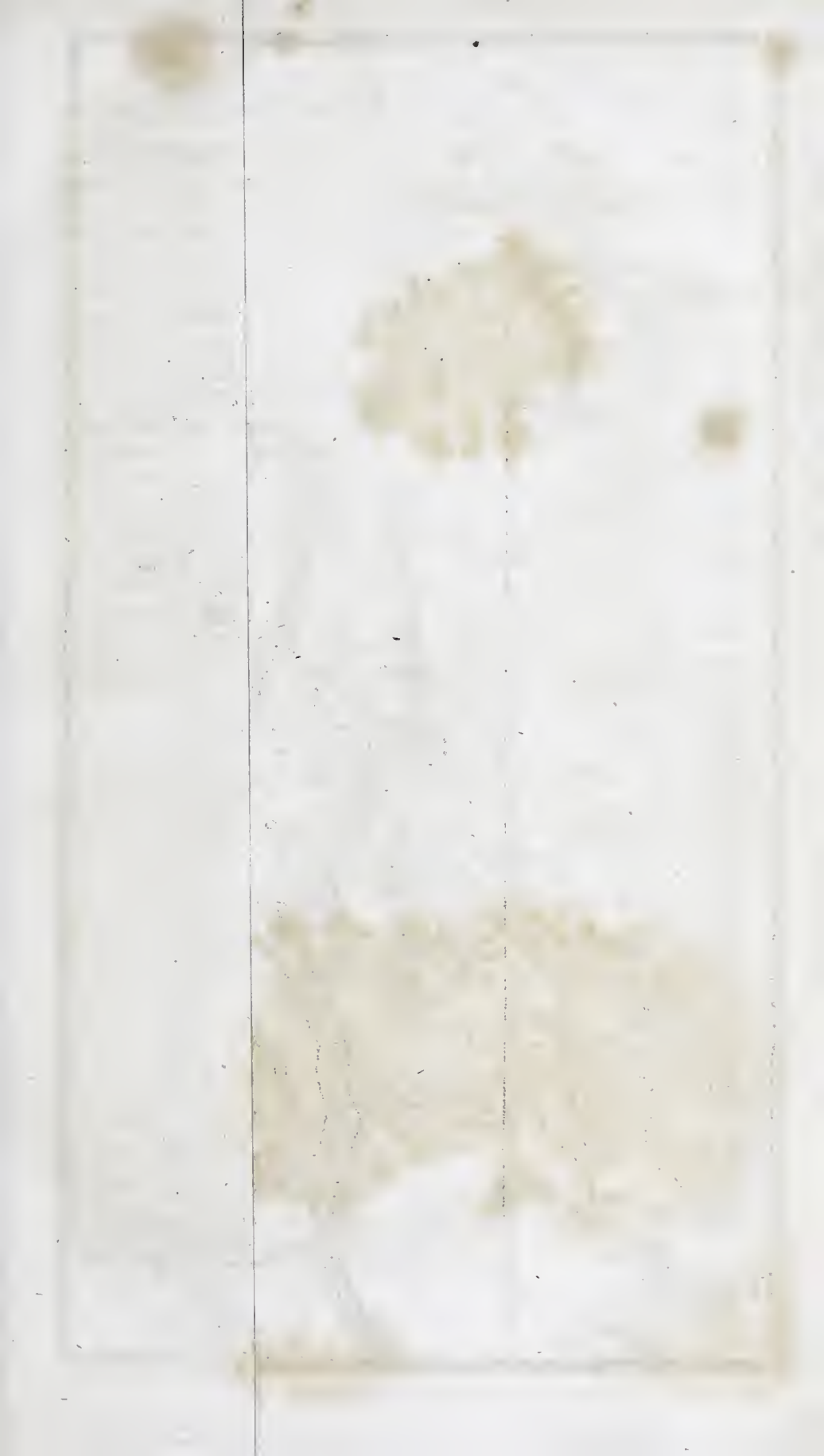
#### CHAP. XXVI.

473. I. P. Valerius Lævinus and Tib. Coruncanius are chosen consuls at Rome. Pyrrhus, (whose character is given) being arrived at Tarentum, (after escaping shipwreck by a storm which dispersed his fleet) takes measures to turn the Tarentines from the pursuit of pleasures, to which they are entirely addicted; and he makes himself absolute master in the place. In the meantime the Romans send Fabricius to visit their colonies and allies, with whom they are fallen into some discredit, through the villanous behaviour of a legion of Campanian soldiers, which had been sent by the republic to garrison Rhegium at the request of the inhabitants, and which had massacred the citizens, and seized the city for themselves. II. Pyrrhus hearing at Tarentum that the consul Lævinus has marched an army into Lucania, takes the field. He sends a letter to the consul, encamped near Heraclea, requiring him to submit the quarrel between Rome and Tarentum to his arbitration. Lævinus, in answer, returns a defiance.

KING  
PYRRHUS  
arrives in  
Italy.

Garrison of  
Rhegium.







# A Plan of ANCIENT ROME.

Scale English Feet.  
1000 2000 3000

## REFERENCE

1. Circus of Nero.
2. Via Hadriani Pont Max.
3. Sepulchre of Scipio Africanus.
4. Baths of Hadrian.
5. Tomb of Hadrian.
6. Vatican, or Triumphal Bridge.
7. Milvian, or Elion Bridge.
8. Tomb of Augustus.
9. Sepulchre of Nero.
10. Garden of Sallust.
11. Temple of the Sun.
12. Venus Erycina.
13. Bacchus.
14. Castrum Pretorium, or Custodia.
15. House and Garden of Maecenas.
16. Tower of Maecenas.
17. Baths of Dioclesian.
18. Temple of Mala Fortuna.
19. Fortuna Primigenia.
20. Serapis.
21. Flora.
22. House of Marcial.
23. Temple of Fidius.
24. Quirinus.
25. Palace of Dioclesian.
26. House of Fabius Flavius.
27. Tower of Fabius Flavius.
28. Temple of Fortuna Publica.
29. Via Cornelia.
30. Temple of Jupiter Sponsor.
31. House of Cornelius.
32. Temple of the Sun.
33. Baths of Septa Campi Martii.
34. Campus Martius.
35. Antonii Columna.
36. Arch of Comillus.
37. Baths of Agrippa.
38. Baths of Hadrian and Nero.
39. House of Maximus.
40. Field of Flora.
41. Palace of Venus.
42. Pons Janiculensis.
43. Baths of Septimius Severus.
44. Caesar's Garden.
45. Taberna Meritoria.
46. Tribunal of Aurelius.
47. Via Judaea.
48. Platea Judaea.
49. Palace of Caesar.
50. Piscina Publica.
51. Trajan's Column.
52. Familia Comitum.
53. Quirinal Palace.
54. Street called Suburra.
55. New Street.
56. Temple of Peace.
57. Wicked Street.
58. Temple of the Sun and Moon.
59. Peace.
60. Turris Comitum.
61. Forum of Julius Caesar.
62. Temple of Venus Vincina.
63. Arch of Titus.
64. Via Sacra.
65. Arch of Constantine.
66. Temple of Vesta Dei Panis & Helicabandus.
67. Hercules.
68. Juno Sospita.
69. Forum Romanum.
70. Templum Fidei.
71. Columna Mellinaria.
72. Aedes Romuli.
73. Temple of Jupiter Stator.
74. Augustus & Bacchus.
75. Apollo.



## REFERENCE

76. Temple of Vertumni.
77. dedicated to Fortune.
78. Jovis Victoris.
79. Febris Trajan, and Neptune.
80. Ara Maxima Herculis.
81. Temple of Victory.
82. Carceres Ciri Maximi.
83. Grecinn School.
84. Temple of Herculis.
85. Fortuna Virilis.
86. Carmenta.
87. Saturn.
88. Miliareum Aureum.
89. Temple of Jovis Tonanatis, et Fortuna.
90. Arch of Septimius.
91. The Conitium.
92. Temple of Castor, and Pollux.
93. Lacus Curtius.
94. Temple of Opis and of Saturn.
95. Arch of Septimius Severus.
96. Sempontius's House.
97. Cloaca Maxima.
98. House of Septimius Severus.
99. Temple of Jovis, Custodis et Edei.
100. Saturn.
101. Veneris Eridanæ, et Mentis.
102. Jovis Custodis.
103. Mars.
104. Concord.
105. Jupiter Capitolinus.
106. Jupiter O. M.
107. Fame.
108. Theatre of Marcellus.
109. Temple of Esculapius.
110. Pons Cæsius, or Esquilinus.
111. Fabricii.
112. Carmentalis Gate.
113. Arch of Septimius Severus.
114. Senate House.
115. Turpeian Rock.
116. Temple of Jupiter Feretrius.
117. Apollo and Platea Capitolii.
118. Janus.
119. Vulcan.
120. Ox Market.
121. Temple of Juno.
122. Liberty.
123. Velabrum or Tuscan Street.
124. Temple of Bann Dea.
125. Scalar Genonide.
126. Pons Sublicii, or Emili.
127. Apothece Publice.
128. Baths of Septimius.
129. Temple of Fortuna Virilis.
130. Herculis.
131. Queen Juno.
132. Dea Strenun.
133. Diana.
134. Curia Hostilia.
135. Temple of Neptunus Equestris.
136. The Tomerium.
137. Temple of the Sun.
138. of Mercury.
139. Venus.
140. Ceres.
141. Libern.
142. Flora.
143. Liber.
144. Baths of Decius.
145. Antony.
146. Temple of Minerva.
147. Ceres, Bacchus, and Proserpine.
148. Hostilius's Palace.
149. The Street called Carina.
150. Temple of Claudius Cesar.
151. Palace of Constantine.
152. Palace of Phutius Lateranus.
153. House of Titus.
154. Temple of Juno Lucina.
155. Baths of Olympus.
156. Julian's Arch.
157. Forum Esquilinum.
158. House of Pompey the Great.
159. Temple of Libitina.
160. Venus and Cupid.
161. Mars.
162. Fountain of Mercury.
163. Temple of Minerva.
164. Fort Remuria.



THE

# ROMAN HISTORY.

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## BOOK II.

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### CHAP. XXXV.

I. *New dissensions arise in the republic, on occasion of a proposal to add two quæstors to the two already established. The tribunes resolve not to suffer an election of consuls, unless it be made a rule, that, of the four quæstors, two be always plebeian. The two parties come at length to this compromise, that military tribunes shall be elected to the government, and that the people shall be free to choose patricians or plebeians to the quæstorship. The people choose not only the military tribunes but the quæstors too out of the patricians only.* II. *The tribunes revive the old quarrel about the distribution of the conquered lands. Appius's advice to the senate, to raise a division among those magistrates, is followed with success.* III. *The affair of the AGRARIAN LAW is revived. Posthumius, one of the military tribunes, and general of the army, by his breach of word, and by some imprudent menaces, so provokes his soldiers, that they mutiny. Attempting to punish the mutineers, he is slain by them. The senate, fearing lest the people, in order to screen the murderers, should choose plebeian military tribunes for the next year, (340) use all their endeavours to get the consulship restored; and they prevail. The fasces, after being seven years in the hands of military tribunes, are transferred to two consuls, A. Cornelius Cossus and L. Furius Medullinus, who show great moderation and prudence in the prosecu-*



tion of the criminals. IV. In the year 344, the people choose three of the four quæstors out of the plebeians. And the senate is forced to consent to an election of military tribunes for the next year. Three patricians are chosen. These being ordered by the senate to name a dictator, on occasion of a war with the Volsci, two of them refuse. The senate hereupon has recourse, as formerly, to the tribunes; but these return a disdainful answer, and will not meddle in the dispute. Servilius Ahala, the third military tribune, names P. Cornelius dictator, who quickly puts an end to the war. Servilius's two colleagues, in anger against the senate, propose military tribunes at the next election: however, patricians are chosen, and so likewise the next year. The tribunes of the commons, provoked to the utmost, revenge themselves, by opposing the levies for a war with the Veientes, who had insulted the Roman ambassadors; and they make the old affair of the Agrarian law their pretence. The senate get the better of this opposition, by decreeing that the infantry shall hereafter have PAY out of the public treasury, during the service. The people joyfully confirmed this decree, and readily offer themselves to be enlisted.


Year of  
R O M E  
CCCXXXII.  
Bef J. C.  
Four hundred twenty

~~~~~  
Eighty-first  
Consulship.  
Livy, B. 4.  
c. 45.

I. THE affection which four tribunes of the commons had showed to a patrician, and the compliance of Hortensius with their desires in his favour, seemed to promise a better understanding, and more union, between the senate and people, than there had been of late: but the very next year, in the consulate of T. Quinctius Capitolinus and Fabius Vibulanus, new dissensions arose with relation to the quæstorship. [The institution of this office is ascribed by Plutarch to Poplicola, who (according to the same author) left the choice of the quæstors to the people. Their business was to collect the taxes, defray the expenses of

war, and keep exact accounts of their receipts and disbursements of the public money, of which they were the treasurers, and for which they were accountable. And lastly, the Roman eagles were deposited with them, and they delivered them out at the consuls' command, when the Romans marched into the field.]

To this time, only two of these officers had been annually chosen, who never stirred from Rome. The consuls proposed that two others should now be added, to attend the generals in the field, take account of the spoils won from the enemy, sell the booty, and above all, provide for the subsistence of the army. The senate warmly seconded this proposal, till the tribunes demanded, that some of the quæstors should henceforward be plebeians. (Hitherto the quæstors had been chosen out of the patricians only.) Both consuls and senate, at first, opposed this demand with all their might, afterwards they yielded thus far, that in the election of quæstors, as in that of military tribunes, the Roman people, if they thought fit, should choose as many plebeians as patricians. But the tribunes demanding that two of the quæstors should always indispensably be plebeians, the senate, rather than submit to this, dropt the design of increasing the number of those officers. The tribunes, in revenge, renewed the proposal of the *division of the lands*; nor would they suffer the present consuls to hold the comitia for electing new ones, but insisted on having military tribunes for

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCCXXII.  
Bef. J. C.  
Four hun-  
dred twenty  
  
Eighty-first  
Consulship.

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCXXXII.  
Bef. J. C.  
Four hun-  
dred twenty

Eighty-first  
Consulship.

the next year. The senate were now more than ever concerned to hinder this, lest, if plebeians were chosen to the government, the Agrarian law should take place. The obstinacy of the two parties in holding to their demands threw the republic into a kind of anarchy: for the tribunes sometimes even opposed the senate's meeting to name an inter-*rex*; but they constantly hindered this officer's holding any assembly for the choosing of consuls. At length L. Papirius Mugillanus, being inter-*rex*, by expostulations and soft persuasions, brought each of the parties to yield something of its pretensions, in order to a reconciliation. The senate agreed to let military tribunes be chosen instead of consuls; and the tribunes of the commons consented that in the election of the four quæstors, the people should give their votes as they pleased, either to patricians or plebeians; and thus the dispute ended.

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCXXXIII.  
Bef. J. C.  
Four hun-  
dred nine-  
teen.

Ninth  
Mil. Trib.  
Liv., B. 4.  
c. 43.

The assembly for the election of military tribunes was held first; and, notwithstanding all the credit and intrigues of the tribunes of the commons, four patricians were chosen, L. Quinctius Cincinnatus, Sp. Furius Medullinus, M. Manlius, and A. Sempronius Atratinus, (cousin to the consul of the same name): Sempronius presided in the election of quæstors<sup>1</sup>. Antistius and Pompilius, two tribunes of the commons, asked the quæstorship, the

<sup>1</sup> By a letter from Cicero to Curius (Ep. 30, L. vii. ad Famil.) it appears, that, in their time, the quæstors were elected in *comitia tributa*. But I find no reason to be-



first for his son, the second for his brother; yet none but patricians were promoted to that office; the people had not power to deny it to men whose fathers and ancestors had been honoured with the consulship. The tribunes of the commons, enraged almost to madness at this preference, cried out, "What! two tribunes of the commons, one recommending his son, the other his brother, and both disregarded! There must infallibly have been some deceit in gathering the votes, and A. Sempronius ought to be called to account for it." But as he was a man of known probity, and his innocence and the dignity with which he was then invested, set him above their reach, they turned all their fury against C. Sempronius, his relation, before spoken of, and revived the prosecution against him (for his ill-conduct in the last battle); which Hortensius, at the request of Tempanius, had dropped. He was again cited to appear at the end of twenty-seven days. During this interval, Sempronius constantly attended the senate, and being resolved not to lose his character there, by a timorous behaviour, zealously opposed the request of the tribunes, concerning the partition of the lands; and he behaved himself with the same steadiness on his trial: but notwithstanding all the solicitations of the senate in his favour, he was fined 15,000 asses [48*l.* 8*s.* 9*d.*]

lieve, that, at this time, they were elected in those assemblies, nor so long as the people chose the quæstors out of the patricians only.

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCXXXIII  
Bef. J. C.  
Four hun-  
dred nine-  
teen.

Ninth  
Mil. Trib.

Year of  
R O M E  
cccxxxiv.  
Bef. J. C.  
Four hundred  
eighteen.

Tenth  
Mil. Trib.  
Livy, B. 4.  
c. 45.  
\* 15 miles  
from Rome.

Year of  
R O M E  
cccxxxv.  
Bef. J. C.  
Four hundred  
seventeen.

Eleventh  
Mil. Trib.

Livy, B. 4.  
c. 46.

II. IN the following military tribuneship of Agrippa Menenius, Sp. Nautius, P. Lucretius, and C. Servilius, a plot was formed by the slaves, to set fire to the city, and seize the capitol; but this secret was revealed by some of the conspirators, and the mischief prevented. Soon after, Lavicum\*, a city included in the Latine confederacy, gave the Romans some reasons to suspect her fidelity. And the next year (in which the republic was governed by three military tribunes only, M. Papirius, C. Servilius, and L. Sergius) produced the entire revolt of the Lavicani, who joined the Æqui, pillaged the territory of Tusculum, and encamped with their new allies under the Algidus. It was ordered by the senate that two of the military tribunes should take the field, and the third continue to govern the city. Upon this a contest arose between the three, no one of them being willing to stay at home. The senate was offended at these disputes; and Q. Servilius Fidenas, formerly dictator, put an end to them by his paternal authority, commanding his son, C. Servilius, one of the three governors, to stay in Rome. But the two generals agreed no better in the field than they had done in the city; each was for fighting the enemy his own way; they despised each other, and the troops were divided into two parties. When the news of this discord came to Rome, Q. Servilius apprehended the consequences of it, and advised his son to raise more troops to be in readiness at all events: and the advice proved serviceable. For, the two ge-

nerals having at length agreed to command the troops alternately each his day, Sergius soon after imprudently hazarded a battle, and by a stratagem of the enemy, who designedly gave ground to draw him into an ambush, was entirely defeated. He took refuge with his broken troops in Tusculum. Upon this news the senate ordered a dictator to be created; and the younger Servilius nominated his father, who (as some say) appointed his son general of the horse. The father and son left Rome at the head of a new army, (that which had fled to Tusculum being recalled) and encamped within two miles of the enemy. The dictator being there informed that they were grown negligent and presumptuous, he marched with haste to attack them, routed them, invested Lavicum, their place of retreat, and took it by assault. And all this being done in eight days, he returned to Rome, and immediately laid down his office.

The succeeding military tribunes, P. Lucretius, L. Servilius, Agrippa Menenius, and Sp. Veturius, gained no other glory but that of preserving the republic in the same tranquillity in which they found it.

But the next year (when A. Sempronius, M. Papirius, Q. Fabius, and Sp. Nautius, governed the commonwealth) Sp. Mæcilius, a fourth time tribune of the people, and Metilius, now tribune a third time, renewed the proposal of an *equal distribution of the lands conquered from the enemies of Rome.* This tended to a con-

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCXXXV.  
Bef. J. C.  
Four hundred seven-  
teen.

Eleventh  
Mil. Trib.

c. 47.

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCXXXVI.  
Bef. J. C.  
Four hundred six-  
teen.

Twelfth  
Mil. Trib.

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCXXXVII  
Bef. J. C.  
Four hundred fifteen.

Thirteenth  
Mil. Trib.

Livy, B. 4.  
c. 48.



Year of  
R O M E  
CCCXXXVII  
Bef. J. C.

Four hun-  
dred fifteen.

Thirteenth  
Mil. Trib.

fiscation of the estates possessed by a great part of the nobility. The city of Rome had been built upon ground originally belonging to the city of Alba, and had scarce any territory but what had been since won sword in hand. Under pretence of buying or renting parcels of this acquisition, those of the patricians whose ample share in the government furnished them with opportunities, had possessed themselves of large tracts, to which they could not produce any just title. The tribunes were for resuming these lands, and making a fair partition of them among all the citizens, nobles, and commons. To defeat this project the SENATORS had meetings, public and private. The youngest of them, Appius Claudius (grandson of the decemvir) is said to have spoken to this effect; that it had been a constant tradition in his family, that relief against the tyranny of the tribunes was to be found no where but in their own college. That the best way to frustrate the designs of Mæcilius and Metilius was to engage some one of their colleagues to oppose them: that it would be no difficult matter for the nobles by condescensions and caresses to gain over those who were but newly come into office, made no figure, and were perhaps jealous of the authority assumed by the two leading tribunes. And he exhorted the fathers to try the experiment.

This advice they unanimously approved, and Appius was highly praised for having thus shown that he did not degenerate from the virtue of his

ancestors. The chief men of the senate immediately applied themselves to gain some of the tribunes; and by entreaties and remonstrances they succeeded so well, that of the ten they won over six to oppose the promulgation of the law. Mæcilius and his colleague reproached them as traitors, enemies to the people, and slaves to the senate; but it was all in vain, they were forced to desist from their enterprise.

The senate, by means of a good intelligence with the majority of the tribunes, remained the directors of affairs the following year also. L. Sextius, one of the college, to make his court to the people, having proposed to send a colony to Volæ, a little town which they had lately taken from the Æqui, the other tribunes opposed it, and declared, that during their tribuneship, they would never suffer any new law to be offered, which had not been first approved by the senate. But this influence of the conscript fathers in the tribunitian college did not last long: the affair of the Agrarian law was revived the next year.

III. THE Æqui having retaken Volæ, P. Posthumius Regillensis, one of the military tribunes, a good soldier, but an imperious, obstinate, wrong-headed man, was sent with an army to recover it. After some skirmishes with the enemy in the field, he invested that place.

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCXXXVII  
Bef. J. C.  
Four hundred fifteen.

Thirteenth  
Mil. Trib.

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCXXXVIII  
Bef. J. C.  
Four hundred fourteen.

Fourteenth  
Mil. Trib.

Liv. B. 4,  
c. 49.

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCXXXIX.  
Bef. J. C.  
Four hundred thirteen.

Fifteenth  
Mil. Trib.

CORNELIUS COSSUS,

QUINCTIUS CINCINNATUS,

VALERIUS VOLUSUS,

FABIUS VIBULANUS.

} Y. of R. 338.

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCXXXIX.  
Bef. J. C.  
Four hun-  
dred thir-  
teen.

Fifteenth  
Mil. Trib.

Before he led his troops to the assault, he promised them for their encouragement, that if they took the town, they should have the plunder. The place was won, but the general, who naturally hated the plebeians, of whom the greatest part of his army consisted, broke his word, and sold all for the public treasury.

Sextius, one of the tribunes of the commons, soon after brought on anew the affair of the *conquered lands*. Posthumius was hereupon sent for to Rome to assist his colleagues in opposing the tribune's enterprise. Being come, he in full assembly of the people dropt an expression, that seemed to speak him a fool or a madman. Sextius having proposed to the assembly to pass a decree for dividing the city and territory of Volæ among the soldiers who had made the conquest, affirming that they had the best right to the benefit of it, Posthumius hastily cried out, "Woe be to my soldiers, if they stir." So proud and unjust a saying offended the senators no less than the multitude: Sextius, bold and eloquent, took advantage of the general discontent, and directing his speech to the people: "Do you hear how Posthumius threatens his soldiers, as if they were so many slaves? And yet this brute of a man you think more worthy of the military tribuneship than any of us, whose whole study is to procure you

|                |   |             |
|----------------|---|-------------|
| Q. FABIVS,     | } | Y. of R339. |
| CN. CORNELIVS, |   |             |
| P. POSTHVMIVS, |   |             |
| L. VALERIVS.   |   |             |



lands, and houses, and a comfortable retreat in your old age, and to defend you upon all occasions against such proud and cruel adversaries. Can you then have any reason to wonder that of late so few of your tribunes show much zeal for your interests? What have we to expect from you? Honours? You bestow them upon your enemies. Posthumius's words have indeed shocked you, filled you with horror. But what then? If you were just now to go to an election, you would prefer this cruel threatener to your best friends, to those who have nothing at heart but your welfare."

This discourse did not fail to inflame the people; and when the threats of Posthumius were reported in the camp, they occasioned such a commotion and murmuring in the army, as came little short of downright sedition. P. Sestius, one of the quæstors, having in the absence of his general ordered a lictor to seize a soldier who was more mutinous than the rest, his fellow-soldiers rescued him, and one of them gave the quæstor a severe blow with a stone. Posthumius, informed of this tumult, hastened to the camp, and exasperated the troops more than ever by the strictness of his inquiries, and the cruelty of his punishments. He commanded the most guilty of the mutineers to be put to death *under the hurdle*, a kind of execution which has been before mentioned. The manner of it was this. The criminal was laid at his length in a shallow water, under an hurdle, upon which they heaped stones, and so pressed

Year of -  
R O M E  
cccxxxix.  
Bef. J. C.  
Four hundred  
thirteen.

Fifteenth  
Mil. Trib.

Livy, B. 4.  
c. 50.

Zonaras,  
B. 7.

Year of  
R O M E  
cccxxxix.  
Bef. J. C.  
Four hun-  
dred thir-  
teen.

Fifteenth  
Mil. Trib.

Florus,  
B. 1.

Livy, B. 4.  
c. 50.

Year of  
R O M E  
cccxl.  
Bef. J. C.  
Four hun-  
dred twelve.

Eighty-se-  
cond Con-  
sulship.

Livy, B. 4.  
c. 51.

him down till he was drowned. But in vain did the general now pass this sentence against the seditious: the rest of the soldiers tore them out of the hands of the executioners, and set them at liberty. Posthumius, transported with rage, came down from his tribunal, and, preceded by his lictors, broke through the press, in order to lay hold on the criminals. He found no respect remaining among the soldiers either for his orders or his person; they opposed force with force, and being urged to fury, stoned him to death. This was the first instance, from the foundation of Rome, of a Roman general slain by his troops.

When the news of the tragical end of Posthumius came to the city, his colleagues, who resided there, zealous to revenge his death upon the rebellious soldiers, decreed, with the senate's approbation, that informations should be taken concerning it: the tribunes of the commons interposed. This contest depended upon another. The conscript fathers thought it of the utmost importance to avoid an election of military tribunes for the next year, lest the commons, to screen the guilty soldiers, should choose governors out of the plebeians. They would therefore have made a decree; that consuls should be chosen in the next comitia. The passing of this decree was opposed by the tribunes of the commons, and the contention lasted so long, that the republic fell into an interregnum. In the end, the senate carried their point. Fabius Vibulanus, being inter-

rex, assembled the comitia by centuries, and they chose M. Cornelius Cossus and L. Furius Medullinus, consuls. These were good-natured men, and for that reason, as it was thought proper not to be too rigorous in punishing the soldiers who had murdered their general, were unanimously appointed by the senate and people to inquire into the crime. Necessary it was to make examples ; but this was done with moderation ; and those few who died, fell by their own hands, and not by the axes of the lictors. The consuls thought it more advisable to suppose the army in general to be innocent, than to drive them into an open revolt by too strict an examination.

It had been happy if the senate and consuls had, to so prudent a management, added the partition of the territory of Volæ among the people : they had indeed no plausible pretence not to do it, there being as yet no private occupiers of it to be disturbed in their possessions. And this would have been the most effectual way to silence the factious complaints of the tribunes, and abate the ardour of the people for the division of the public lands conquered before. But the commons now saw with indignation, that the secret design of the senate and nobility was to keep them always in poverty, as well for their own interest, as to make them more submissive and dependent. Before it be long we shall see them prosecute their pretensions with more fury than ever.

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCXL.  
Bef. J. C.  
Four hun-  
dred twelve  
Eighty-se-  
cond Con-  
sulship.

In the meantime the consul Furius marched



Year of  
R O M E  
CCCXL.  
Bef. J. C.  
Four hun-  
dred twelve.

Eighty-se-  
cond Con-  
sulship.

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCXLI.  
Bef. J. C.  
Four hun-  
dred eleven.

Eighty-  
third Con-  
sulship.

Livy, B. 4.  
c. 52.

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCXLII.  
Bef. J. C.  
Four hun-  
dred ten.

Eighty-  
fourth  
Consulship.

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCXLIII.  
Bef. J. C.  
Four hun-  
dred nine.

Eighty-  
fifth Con-  
sulship.

c. 53.

against the Volsci, who had pillaged the territory of the Hernici. At his approach the enemy disappeared; and he took from them Ferentinum, which he gave to the Hernici, with the lands about it, to compensate their losses.

IV. THE tribunes made no opposition to the election of consuls for the next year; and Q. Fabius and C. Furius were chosen. But L. Icilius, a tribune, began to resume the affair of the conquered lands with immoderate heat. A plague that raged in the city put a stop to his career. This calamity was of course followed by a scarcity of provisions; for, the citizens being also the husbandmen, the lands were left untilld while the distemper prevailed; and the loss of one harvest was sufficient to reduce Rome to extreme want.

The famine was severely felt in the succeeding consulship of M. Papirius and C. Nautius; however, care was taken to get corn from He-  
truria and Sicily; and Rome by extraordinary good fortune continued this year without com-  
motions at home or abroad.

No sooner did the plague and famine cease, but the Æqui renewed their incursions upon the territories of the Latines and Hernici, faith-  
ful allies of Rome. M. Æmelius and C. Vale-  
rius were now consuls. It fell to the latter to  
conduct the war; but when he would have  
levied troops, the tribune Mænius opposed it  
upon the old pretence of the Agrarian law.  
In the meantime the Æqui insulted the Ro-  
mans, and took from them the fort of Carven-

tum \*. This disgrace not only increased the hatred of the nobles to Mænius, but induced the other nine tribunes to assist the consul in making the levies, and punishing those persons who refused to serve.

The Romans recovered the fort, and found in it a considerable booty which the enemy had laid up there; but Valerius being dissatisfied with his men on account of their backwardness to enlist themselves for the war, he sold all, and put the money into the quæstor's hands.

It was the custom in the triumphal procession for the soldiers to chant satirical verses on the victor who enjoyed that honour. In Valerius's ovation they did something particular, and by way of revenge they divided themselves into two choirs, and while one made the air resound with songs against their general, the other sung verses in praise of Mænius; and every time his name was repeated, the people in the streets clapped their hands and made acclamations, and even drowned the noisy music of the soldiers.

This behaviour of the citizens alarmed the senate, and obliged them to bestir themselves, to hinder an election of military tribunes for the next year, lest Mænius should be chosen for one. The fathers prevailed; consuls were elected; and the choice fell upon Cn. Cornelius and L. Furius †.

Under their administration three tribunes of the name of Icilius, all three kinsmen, and of a family in which to hate the patricians was hereditary, undertook to deprive them of the quæs-

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCXLIII.  
Bef. J. C.  
Four hundred nine.

Eighty-  
fifth Con-  
sulship.

c. 53.

\* In Lati-  
um.

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCXLIV.  
Bef. J. C.  
Four hundred eight.

Eighty-  
sixth Con-  
sulship.

† A second  
time.

Livy, B. 4.  
c. 54.

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCXLIV.  
Bef. J. C.  
Four hun-  
dred eight.

Eighty-  
sixth Con-  
sulship.

torship, which hitherto had never been out of their order, though plebeians were qualified to stand for it. The Iciliii talked much of glorious projects they had formed in favour of the commons; but at the same time declared that they would not stir one step towards the execution of them, unless the plebeians would assume so much courage at least as to raise some of their own body to the quæstorship. The multitude, possessed with hopes of the mighty advantages they were to reap from the zeal of their present tribunes, gave their votes in the election of quæstors to Q. Silius, P. Ælius, and P. Pupius, all three plebeians; and of the patricians who put up for that dignity none but Cæso Fabius Ambustus could obtain it.

The tribunes of the commons, elated with this victory over the nobility, flattered themselves, that the quæstorship would now open them a way to the military tribuneship, the consulate, and the triumph. They would not hear therefore of an election of consuls for the next year; they opposed the publication of a decree of the senate for that purpose; they cried out, that it was high time for the plebeians to have their share in the government. The disputes on this head grew warm, when, luckily for the Iciliii, news came that the Æqui and Volsci were again in motion. The tribunes opposed the levies, which, in pursuance of a *senatus-consultum*, the consuls would have made. Two of the Iciliii constantly attended upon these magistrates, each watching his man,



to hinder him from raising troops, or holding the comitia for choosing new consuls. The business of the third Icilius was to manage the multitude, and let them loose, or restrain them, as he judged proper. Things were at this pass, when news was brought that the Æqui had retaken the fortress of Carventum. This gave the tribunes a further advantage, the want of an army being now more pressing. In short, the senate were forced to consent to an election of military tribunes; but to disappoint the Icilii, they annexed this proviso to their decree, *That none of the present TRIBUNES OF THE COMMONS should be chosen to the MILITARY TRIBUNESHIP, or continued in their office the next year.*

The levies now went on without opposition. The consuls marched to recover Carventum, but they lost a great deal of time before it, and were forced to raise the siege at last. They took however Verrugo from the Volsci.

Though the commons had carried their point, of obtaining comitia for electing military tribunes (instead of consuls) for the next year; yet the fathers got the victory at the elections: three patricians were chosen, and no plebeian. It is said that the nobles made use of a stratagem, (and were reproached with it at that time, by the Icilii,) which was this: they engaged a great number of the meanest and most worthless of the plebeians to stand candidates, mixing them with the worthy candidates of the same order. The people were so disgusted with the appearance of the former, that they would not

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCXLIV.  
Bef. J. C.  
Four hundred eight.

Eighty-sixth Consulship.

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCXLV.  
Bef. J. C.  
Four hundred seven.

Sixteenth  
Mil. Trib.  
Livy, B. 4.  
c. 56.

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCXLV.  
Bef. J. C.  
Four hun-  
dred seven.

Sixteenth  
Mil. Trib.

give their voices to the latter, nor to any but patricians.

C. Julius Iulus, P. Corn. Cossus, and C. Servilius Ahala were declared military tribunes; but did not long continue in the supreme command. The Volsci having set on foot a very formidable army, the senate, according to custom, resolved to send a dictator against them. As the absolute authority of that magistrate in a manner swallowed up the power of all the inferior officers, Julius and Cornelius opposed his nomination, alleging that they did not want courage and experience to command an army, and that it was unjust to deprive them of a dignity which they had so lately obtained by all the votes of their fellow-citizens.

The senate, exasperated at their refusal to name a dictator, had recourse to the tribunes of the commons, as they had done before upon the like occasion. But the tribunes of this year observed a different conduct from that of their predecessors. Overjoyed to see this dissension between the military tribunes and the senate, they answered, with a scornful raillery, "That for their part they could give no help in the affair; that they were only plebeians, not citizens, nor even to be reckoned in the number of men; that if ever the honours and dignities of the republic were made common to them with the patricians, they should then take care that no proud magistrate disobeyed the decrees of the senate; but that in the meantime the patricians themselves, as they had

thrown off all respect for laws and magistrates, might also, if they pleased, assume the power and functions of the tribunes, and do their own business as they could."

The contests drawing to no end, and the enemy still advancing towards the frontier, Servilius Ahala, the third military tribune, declared publicly, that the good of his country was more dear to him than the friendship of his colleagues; and that if they would not choose a dictator, he would take upon him to name one himself: and accordingly being supported by the whole senate, he named to that highest magistracy P. Cornelius Rutilus, who afterwards appointed Servilius to be general of the horse.

The war was of no long continuance; the Volsci were defeated near the city of Antium, their territory plundered, and a great number of prisoners taken. After this expedition the dictator laid down his authority, and the military tribunes resumed theirs. Julius and Cornelius Cossus, discontented with the senate for having, by the creation of a dictator, frustrated their hopes of acquiring glory in this war, made no mention of electing consuls for the ensuing year, but appointed an assembly for choosing military tribunes. The conscript fathers were much alarmed to see their interest thus betrayed by men of their own order; and therefore, as they had, the last year, by setting up unworthy candidates from among the ple-

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCXLV.  
Bef. J. C.  
Four hun-  
dred seven.

Sixteenth  
Mil. Trib.  
Livy, B. 4.  
c. 57..



Year of  
R O M E  
CCCXLV.  
Bef. J. C.  
Four hun-  
dred seven.

Sixteenth  
Mil. Trib.  
\* A second  
time.  
† A third  
time.

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCXLVI.  
Bef. J. C.  
Four hun-  
dred six.

Seventeenth  
Mil. Trib.  
Livy, B. 4.  
c. 58.

beians, given the people a dislike to all the *worthy*; so now they effected an exclusion of all plebeians, by setting up for candidates the most illustrious members of their own body, men whom they knew to be esteemed by the commons. C. Valerius, C. Servilius\*, L. Furius, and Fabius Vibulanus†, all eminent patricians, were chosen to the military tribuneship.

The truce with the Veientes being at this time expired, the Romans sent heralds to them to renew their demand of satisfaction of damages formerly sustained. These heralds meeting on the road some envoys going from Veii to Rome, consented, at their request, to proceed no further, till the latter had been heard by the senate. The Veientan ministers obtained of the conscript fathers to desist from their demands, till some civil broils which were then at Veii should be quieted; a conduct which Livy remarks as an instance of great generosity in the Roman senate, who, had they consulted nothing but their own interest, could not have had a more favourable occasion of falling upon a rival state.

The same year the Volsci retook Verrugo from the Romans, and put the garrison to the sword, the senate being dilatory in sending succours to it. However, the military tribunes revenged this loss; they surprised the Volscian troops when scattered about the country to plunder, and cut them to pieces.

The senate kept their ascendant in the election of magistrates for the next year, and procured the military tribuneship for C. Cornelius, L. Valerius\*, Cn. Cornelius, and Fabius Ambustus, all patricians, and of the best families in the commonwealth.

During their administration, the Veientes having insulted the ambassadors of the republic, the senate ordered a declaration of war against Veii to be immediately proposed to the people. The Roman youth, upon the first rumour of this design, began to murmur at it: "The war with the Volsci is not yet ended; we have lately had two garrisons cut in pieces, and the places [though recovered] are not defended now but with much danger. Not a year passes without a battle; and yet, as if we had not fighting enough, we must begin a new war against powerful neighbours that may engage all Hetruria in their cause."

The tribunes did not fail to encourage them in this opposition to the government. "In truth," said they, "the chief war you have to sustain is that which the senate has so long carried on against the commons of Rome. They send you into the field only to be slaughtered, or else to keep you at a distance from the city, lest, if they allowed you any repose, your minds should run upon liberty and colonies, or the public lands, or freedom in giving your votes in the assemblies, and you should concert measures for promoting your own interests, with reference to these matters."

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCXLVII.  
Bef. J. C.  
Four hundred five.

Eighteenth  
Mil. Trib.

\* A second  
time.

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCXLVII.  
Bef. J. C.  
Four hun-  
dred five.

Eighteenth  
Mil. Trib.

Whenever the tribunes met with any of the veteran soldiers, they took them by the hand, entered into familiar discourse with them, inquired how many years they had served, and, making them shew their scars, asked them whether they had room for any more wounds, or could spare any more blood for the service of the commonwealth. By these and other arts of management, in which the tribunes were indefatigable, they made the commons utterly averse from a war with the Veientes: so that the patricians, perceiving that their bill, if now offered, would be rejected, deferred it to another time.

Livy, B. 4.  
c. 59.

However, it was agreed that three of the military tribunes should lead an army against the Volsci. At the approach of it the enemy disappeared, and left their country open to be pillaged. The Roman generals hereupon divided their forces into three bodies, and made incursions into it on different sides. Fabius laid siege to Anxur, (afterwards called Terracina) a wealthy city, and having taken it by assault, divided the spoil equally among the soldiers of all the three armies, telling his own men, that the troops of his colleagues, by hindering succours from coming to the relief of the place, had contributed to the taking of it as much as if they had been present in the action. This generosity (not usual of late) to the soldiers paved the way for a reconciliation between the nobles and commons. And this was entirely accomplished by a decree of the



senate, soon after passed, *That for the future the Roman infantry should be maintained in the field at the public expense.* Hitherto all the citizens had used to go to war at their own charges; and oftentimes when the campaign was too long, the lands, especially those of the poorer plebeians, lay fallow. This occasioned borrowing, exorbitant usury, complaints, and seditions. The senate, to prevent these disorders, decreed of themselves, and without being importuned by the people or their tribunes, that for the future the soldiers should have PAY out of the public money; and that, to furnish this expense, a new tax should be raised, from which no citizen whatsoever should be exempt.

Upon the first news of this *senatus-consultum*, the people were transported with joy; they ran in crowds from all parts to the senate-house, and, taking the senators by the hand, as they came out, said, that now indeed it appeared they were justly called fathers; and declared themselves ready to spill the last drop of their blood for their country, so tender and generous a mother to all her children.

In this universal gladness, the tribunes of the commons were remarkable for their gloomy and envious countenances. Union always hindered them from making a figure in the state. They gave out that the senate bestowed largesses at a very cheap rate; that the people must be very blind if they did not perceive that this their pay would come out of their own

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCXLVII.  
Bef. J. C.  
Four hundred five.

Eighteenth  
Mil. Trib.

Livy, B. 4.  
c. 60.

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCXLVII.  
Bef. J. C.  
Four hun-  
dred five.

Eighteenth  
Mil. Trib.

pockets; nay that it was not just to make those citizens who had always served at their own charge, and had completed the time of their service, contribute to the support of the new soldiers who succeeded them in the armies; and they proclaimed that they would protect all those who should refuse to pay the tax. These declarations made some impression upon the people; the senators, nevertheless, went on with their undertaking, and began the contribution themselves, paying their own contingents fairly, according to the real value of their estate; and their example was followed by the chief men among the plebeians.

As in those days, there was no silver money, carts loaded with weighty pieces of brass were every day seen going to the treasury with the contributions of the rich: the poorer sort, pleased with this sight, and animated by the commendations given by the nobles and the soldiers to those of the commons who submitted to the impost, listened no longer to the declamations of their tribunes, but ran every one eagerly to pay the tribute according to his proportion.

## CHAP. XXXVI.

I. *The Romans invest Veii. In the two first years of the siege (which lasted ten) there is little action. The third year, (350 of Rome) a loss which the besiegers sustain before the place, animates the plebeians with a zeal to push on the siege with vigour. The senate, for the first time, allow PAY TO THE HORSE. II. The year following, Sergius and Virginus, (two of the military tribunes) who have the conduct of the siege, quarrel, and divide the troops between them, which having mischievous consequences, they are both recalled. All the military tribunes of this year are obliged to abdicate, and new ones are chosen. Sergius and Virginus (the generals of the last year) are both fined for misconduct. III. The tribunes renew the domestic broils: but all is quieted by the choosing of some plebeians into the military tribuneship. At the next elections the comitia choose five plebeians to that dignity, and only one patrician. There happens a great mortality among men and cattle. To avert this evil, the ceremony of the lectisternium is observed. IV. The senate take advantage of the people's fears and superstition, to get the military tribuneship for patricians only; pretending that the gods were angry at the choice which had been made of plebeians to that magistracy. The lake of Alba overflows. This being looked upon as a prodigy, deputies are sent from Rome to consult the oracle of Delphos. Six new military tribunes are chosen, all patricians. Some defect being discovered in their inauguration, they all abdicate, and six new ones are chosen, all plebeians. Their administration not being prosperous, Camillus is named dictator. V. He takes Veii by sap.*

I. THE senate's view, in allotting funds for the payment of the troops, was not only to ease the people, but also to enable the state to carry on the war further, and maintain it longer. Before this regulation they could not so properly be said to make war as incursions, which were

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCXLVII.  
Bef. J. C.  
Four hundred five.

Eighteenth  
Mil. Trib.



Year of  
R O M E  
CCCXLVII.  
Bef. J. C.  
Four hun-  
dred five.

Eighteenth  
Mil. Trib.

generally terminated by one battle. These expeditions rarely lasted above twenty or thirty days, the soldiers, for want of pay, not being able to keep the field for a longer time together. But now, when the senate found themselves in a condition to maintain an army abroad as long as they pleased, they began to form great designs; and, all opposition to a war with the Veientes being over, they resolved to besiege Veii itself, one of the strongest places in Italy, the bulwark of Hetruria, and which yielded to Rome neither in the courage nor in the wealth of its inhabitants.

Year of  
R O M E  
Bef. J. C.  
CCCXLVIII.  
Four hun-  
dred four.

Nineteenth  
Mil. Trib.

Livy, B. 4.  
c. 61.

The siege was begun in the year 348 of Rome, when the Romans, for the first time, chose six<sup>1</sup> military tribunes. The states of Hetruria held a general council, to debate whether they should unite their forces in the defence of the Veientes, or not; but came to no agreement upon this head.

The next year, when Rome was again governed by six military tribunes<sup>2</sup>, the siege was

- <sup>1</sup> C. JULIUS IULUS, a second time,  
M. ÆMILIUS MAMERCINUS,  
T. QUINCTIUS CAPITOLINUS,  
L. FURIUS MEDULLINUS, a second time,  
Q. QUINCTIUS CINCINNATUS,  
A. MANLIUS VULSO CAPITOLINUS.

- <sup>2</sup> P. CORNELIUS MALUGINENSIS,  
SP. NAUTIUS RUTILUS, a third time,  
CN. CORNELIUS COSSUS, a second time,  
C. VALERIUS POTITUS, a third time,  
K. FABIUS AMBUSTUS,  
M. SERGIUS FIDENAS.

carried on with less vigour than in the beginning; part of the Roman forces being called away to a war with the Volsci.

Livy tells us, that the year following the republic chose eight military tribunes; among whom he reckons M. Furius Camillus and M. Posthumius Albinus; but in this he seems to have been mistaken: for, beside that the electing of eight was illegal, those two senators, according to the Capitoline Fasti, were censors this year, and there were but six supreme governors<sup>3</sup>, of whom Appius Claudius, grandson of the decemvir, was one.

Happily for the Romans, the Veientes at this time chose themselves a king; a proceeding which so displeased the other states of Hetruria, who not only abhorred all royalty, but had a particular dislike to this king, that they came to a resolution to refuse their assistance to the besieged, so long as these should continue under regal government.

We may judge of the strength of Veii by the length of the siege, which (with various fortune) lasted ten whole years; though perhaps this might be chiefly owing to the frequent changing of the generals who commanded the Roman armies. Doubtless these changes hin-

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCXLIX.  
Bef. J. C.  
Four hundred three.

Twentieth  
Mil. Trib.

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCL.  
Bef. J. C.  
Four hundred two.

Twenty-first  
Mil. Trib.

Livy, B. 5.  
c. 1.  
Sig. in Fastos. Pighius in Anal.

<sup>3</sup> M. ÆMILIUS MAMERCINUS, a second time,  
M. FURIUS FUSUS,  
AP. CLAUDIUS CRASSUS,  
L. JULIUS IULUS,  
M. QUINCTIUS VARUS,  
L. VALERIUS POTITUS, a third time.

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCL.  
Bef. J. C.  
Four hun-  
dred two.

Twenty-  
first  
Mil. Trib.

Plut. Life of  
Camillus.  
Livy, B. 5.  
c. 2.

dered the Romans from making a swifter progress in conquest. Had they been constantly governed by some one of those illustrious dictators, who were their last refuge in cases of extreme danger, they had soon been masters of Italy : but such is the usual conduct of a republic, jealous of her liberty ; she checks the rapidity of her victorious generals, lest she herself should become a part of their conquests. It was at this siege that the Romans are thought to have first invented those lines of circumvallation and contravallation, which have been since so much in use ; at least this is the first time they are mentioned in Roman antiquity.

The military tribunes considering that Veii could not be taken but after a long siege, and then rather by famine than force, formed a design of keeping the army in the field all winter, and they began to erect wooden barracks for the men. The soldiers made no opposition to it, choosing rather to live in the camp at the public expense, than in Rome at their own : but the tribunes of the commons had no sooner heard of this, than they immediately made it a pretence to raise an outcry against the senate. They said in every assembly, that indeed they always feared the gifts of the senate concealed some fatal poison : that this new pay was only a bait which the patricians had made use of to deceive the people : that it was in truth the price of their liberty : that the military tribunes, in detaining the soldiers in the camp during winter, had visibly no other end, but



to deprive the commons of so many votes : that the senate and patricians would now reign despotically in all the assemblies ; but that they ought to be made sensible, that they governed men who were free. ; and that it was but fitting the poor citizen, who daily exposed his life in the defence of his country, should at the end of every campaign enjoy a little rest, and have the satisfaction of seeing his house, his wife, and his children, and of giving his voice in the election of the magistrates.

Appius, whom the other military tribunes had left at Rome to oppose the measures of the *tribunes of the commons*, being informed of these seditious speeches, called an assembly, and in a long harangue reproached those plebeian magistrates, that they studied nothing but to hinder all union between the two orders in the state : that they sought to create themselves employment, like knavish physicians : that their desire was to have the state always diseased, that they might ever be busy in the cure : that they seemed determined to like nothing which the senate did, let it be never so advantageous to the people : that as masters did not suffer their slaves to have any intercourse with the neighbours, lest they should be either well or ill used by them, so the tribunes for the same reason could not endure that the commons should have any intercourse with the nobles, and were enraged to see that the senate had shown so much tenderness for the soldiers, as to allow them pay.

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCL.  
Bef. J. C.  
Four hun-  
dred two.

Twenty-  
first  
Mil. Trib.

Livy, B. 5.  
c. 3—5.

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCL.  
Bef. J. C.  
Four hun-  
dred two.

Twenty-  
first  
Mil. Trib.

He added, " Either we should not have undertaken this siege, or we should continue it. Shall we abandon our camp, the forts we have erected, our towers, our mantelets, and our gabions; and so have all the same works to begin again the next summer? And who will promise your tribunes, who give you such wholesome advice, that all Hetruria will not be at length prevailed upon by the Veientes to arm and come to their assistance, if we raise the blockade, and give them opportunity to renew their solicitations? They may perhaps displace that governor, who is so disagreeable to the Hetrurian states, or he may perhaps, for the sake of his country, resign his authority. The scene would be much changed, if those states should all unite against us. Who can assure you, that the Veientes, thus strengthened, will not next year invade and pillage our territory? And what a contempt will it bring upon the republic, if the nations bordering upon Rome, and now jealous of her greatness, shall find that your generals, fettered by new laws of your tribunes, are unable to finish a siege, or keep the field a moment after the fine weather is over? Whereas, on the other hand, nothing will make the Roman people more formidable, than their showing that no severity of the seasons is able to put a stop to their enterprises; and that they are firmly resolved to conquer, or die at the foot of the enemies' ramparts."

Livy, B. 5.  
c. 7.

Appius was already a match for the tribunes



of the commons, even in their assemblies; when a loss, sustained at the siege, gave him a complete victory over them; and produced a surprising concord between the two orders at Rome. The Veientes, in a sally, surprised the besiegers, slew a great number of them, set fire to their machines, and ruined most of their works. This news, instead of depressing the spirits of the Romans, inspired them with new ardour for the continuation of the siege. The richer citizens, whose wealth qualified them to be in the first class among the Roman knights, but who not having yet received horses from the republic, were therefore not legally and actually knights, offered to mount themselves at their own expense. Acceptance, and a profusion of thanks from the senate, rewarded this generous offer. And no sooner did the report of it reach the Forum, but the commons came in crowds to the senate-house with a tender of their voluntary services (in the infantry) to be employed before Veii; or wherever it should be thought most proper; and they promised, in case they were led to Veii, never to leave the camp till the city was taken. The joy which had before filled the minds of the fathers, was now made to overflow by this extraordinary and unexpected zeal of the commons. These volunteers were not thanked and praised, as the cavalry had been, by some of the magistrates commissioned to that office, nor were any of them called into the house to receive an answer: the senators could not keep themselves within

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCL.  
Bef. J. C.  
Four hundred two.

Twenty-  
first  
Mil. Trib.



Year of  
R. O M E  
CCCL.  
Bef. J. C.  
Four hun-  
dred two.

Twenty-  
first  
Mil. Trib.

doors; out they ran, and every one in particular, by his words and gestures, expressed to the multitude (that were standing below in the comitium) the general gladness and exultation: “happy, unconquerable, eternal would Rome be made by this concord!” They praised the knights, they praised the commons, they extolled even the day, *the glorious day!* They confessed the senate to be outdone in kindness and benevolence. The senators and the people seemed to vie with each other in weeping tears of joy; till at length the fathers were called back into their house; and then they made a decree, “that the military tribunes should, in *an assembly of the people*, give the due thanks to both cavalry and infantry, and assure them that the senate would be ever mindful of the affection they showed for their country, and had come to a resolution to allow pay to all the volunteers.” It was at this time, that the cavalry in general began to receive pay out of the public treasury.

The new army of volunteers were conducted to Veii; the works, that had been destroyed by the enemy, restored; new ones formed, and provisions conveyed from Rome to the camp, with more care and diligence than ever; so that nothing necessary might be wanting to soldiers who deserved so well of the republic.

II. THE Capenates and Falisci, nations of Hetruria, nearest to the Veientes, and consequently most concerned in their preservation, armed privately, and joining their troops, sur-

prised and attacked the Romans. L. Virginius and M. Sergius\*, both military tribunes<sup>4</sup>, commanded at this siege. The jealousy, so common between persons in equal authority, had set them at variance: each had a body of troops under his command, and as it were a separate camp. The Capenates and Falisci attacked that of Sergius on one side, at the same time that the besieged made a sally, and attacked it on the other. The Roman soldiers, thinking they had all the forces of Hetruria to deal with, were dismayed, fought faintly, and rather to defend their own lives, than with hopes to vanquish the enemy. It was not long before they gave ground, fell into disorder, and ran away. Virginius could have saved his colleague's troops; his own were ranged in order of battle: but the animosity between the two generals was so great, that Sergius chose rather to perish, than to ask the assistance of Virginius; and Virginius, on the other hand, would not give him any succour, unless he would send and beg it. The enemy profited by this division: Sergius's army fled in disorder to Rome, which was but six leagues distant from the camp, and the general went thither himself, not so much to justify his own conduct, as to set forth the baseness of that of his colleague.

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCLI.  
Bef. J. C.  
Four hundred one.

Twenty-second Mil.  
Trib.

\* A second time.  
Livy, B. 5.  
c. 8.

<sup>4</sup> The other four were,

C. SERVILIUS AHALA, a third time,

Q. SULPITIUS CAMERINUS,

Q. SERVILIUS PRISCUS,

A. MANLIUS VULSO, a second time.

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCLI.  
Bef. J. C.  
Four hun-  
dred one.

Twenty-se-  
cond Mil.  
Trib.

Livy, B. 5,  
c. 9.

The senate hereupon sent orders to Virginius to leave his army under the command of his lieutenants, and repair immediately to Rome, to answer to the complaints which Sergius preferred against him. The dispute was managed with great acrimony, and the two military tribunes ran into invectives against each other before the senate. Each had his friends there who took his part. The conscript fathers, to quiet the matter, thought it advisable to make a decree, that all the military tribunes of that year should resign their magistracies, and the people immediately proceed to a new election of military tribunes, who should enter on their office on the *calends of October*. The four who had been in no fault acquiesced; but the two, on whose account this decree was proposed, begged of the senate that they might not be disgraced; and when they found that their entreaties were not regarded, they protested against the *senatus-consultum*, declaring that they would not resign their authority before the *ides of December*, the due time for its expiration.


The tribunes of the commons, who much against their will had been for some time quiet, laid hold of this occasion to break out, and make a figure. They threatened the two generals to send them to prison, if they did not obey the senate's orders. Servilius Ahala, one of the military tribunes, full of indignation at the haughty manner in which these plebeian magistrates treated his colleagues: "As for




your threats, I should not be displeased with an opportunity of showing, that you have as little courage to execute them, as you have right to utter them. But the decrees of the senate ought to be obeyed; and if my colleagues are refractory to its commands, I shall name a dictator, who will be able, without your interposition, to force them to quit their office."


Virginius and Sergius, finding it fruitless to resist any longer, abdicated their magistracy, and the people proceeded to a new election.

L. Valerius\*, L. Julius, M. Æmilius†, Cn. Cornelius‡, Cæso Fabius§, and Furius Camillus, were chosen military tribunes. And these new governors had work enough upon their hands: they were to begin anew the siege of Veii, to keep the Falisci and Capenates in awe, and to recover Anxur, which the Volsci had taken the last year. Besides, the tribunes of the commons kindled fresh broils, when the armies came to be raised. They dissuaded the old soldiers, who were to stay in the city to guard it, from paying taxes, pretending they were exempted from that burden by being in-listed. And the disturbances, occasioned by their seditious harangues, the levies, and collecting the tribute, were so great, that the tribes could not agree in the choice of more than eight new tribunes of the commons. Two were still wanting. The patricians at first endeavoured to get them supplied out of their body, but in vain. They then caballed to strike at the Trebonian law\*; and in the end pre-

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCLL.   
Bef. J. C.  
Four hundred one.

  
Twenty-second Mil.  
Trib.

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCLII.  
Bef. J. C.  
Four hundred.

  
Twenty-third Mil.  
Trib.

\* A fourth time.

† A third time.

‡ A second time.

§ A second time.

Livy, B. 5  
c. 11.

\* Vid. supra, c. 30.

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCLII.  
Bef. J. C.  
Four hun-  
dred.

Twenty-  
third Mil.  
Trib.

vailed to get two persons added to the eight, by the appointment of the majority of those eight. This was in effect to abrogate the Trebonian law. It happened, that among the tribunes of the commons, there was one C. Trebonius, who thought it a duty owing to his name and family, to take that law under his protection. He told the people that their interests were betrayed; and he brought an odium upon those of his colleagues, who had ventured, of their own authority, to appoint two tribunes. The people were especially exasperated against three of the eight, P. Curiatus, M. Metilius, and M. Minutius: but these diverted the hatred of the public from themselves, by turning it against Sergius and Virginus, the two generals of the last year, whom they cited to appear in judgment before the people; and they forgot nothing upon this occasion, that might inflame the minds of the multitude, not only against the two persons accused, but against the whole body of the patricians. They said, “ that though the two generals laid the blame of their ill success on each other, Virginus reproaching Sergius with cowardice, and Sergius accusing Virginus of treachery, it was not probable, that either of them acted this shameful part, but in concert with the body of the patricians: for that the study of the patricians was to protract the war; to the end, that, the soldiers being kept in the field, the tribunes might not have sufficient number of voters in the city to support their bill concerning the *conquered lands*,

or any other bill that tended to the advantage of the commons."

They added, "That the accused had, in effect, been already condemned by the senate, the Roman people, and even their own colleagues. That the senate, by a decree, removed them from the government; and when they refused to obey that decree, their colleagues constrained them to it by threatening to name a dictator. That the Roman people had created new military tribunes, and had directed them to enter on their magistracy, not on the 13th of December (the usual time) but on the 1st of October, because the republic could no longer subsist under the administration of Sergius and Virginus. And yet these men, so universally pre-condemned, had the folly to imagine, they were sufficiently punished by being reduced to the condition of private citizens, two months before the time; whereas the abridging the duration of their magistracy was only a depriving them of the power of doing more mischief, not an infliction of punishment; seeing their colleagues, who had certainly committed no fault, were removed from the administration at the same time with them." In conclusion they admonished the people, "To recal those dispositions which they lately felt, when they saw their routed, affrighted army come flying to Rome, accusing, not fortune, nor the gods, but only the two generals.—There is not one among you, who did not, that day, detest and

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCLII.  
Bef. J. C.  
Four hun-  
dred.

Twenty-  
third Mil.  
Trib.



Year of  
R O M E  
CCCLII.  
Bef. J. C.  
Four hun-  
dred.

Twenty-  
third Mil.  
Trib.

curse Virginus and Sergius, and all that belong to them. Is it fit, that, after invoking the gods to punish these criminals, you yourselves, when you have them in your power, should show them any indulgence? The gods are never themselves the executors of vengeance upon unjust men; it is sufficient that they furnish *the injured* with an opportunity of revenge." The people, irritated by these harangues, would give no ear to Sergius's plea of *the chance of war*, nor to Virginus's entreaty, *not to render him more unhappy at home, than he had been in the field*. They were each of them condemned in a fine of 10,000 asses of brass.

This prosecution had the designed effect; the people were so intent upon it, that they forgot the Trebonian law, and their quarrel with the three tribunes.

III. ROME at this time received good news from all parts where the war was carrying on: but this did not put a stop to domestic seditions. The tribunes of the commons preferred two laws, the first requiring a partition of the lands, the second excusing the people from any more contributions towards the soldiers' pay: and in fact they would not suffer them to pay the taxes: so that the legions, being deprived of their subsistence, were ripe for a sedition.

But all this bustle ended in getting five plebeians into the military tribuneship. P. Licinius Calvus, P. Mælius, P. Mænius, L. Titinius, and L. Publilius. Sp. Furius was the

only patrician elected at this time<sup>5</sup>. [Livy says, that Licinius, though a plebeian, and never before in any public office, was an old senator.] The tribunes of the commons were so much rejoiced to see plebeians in the supreme magistracy, that they ceased their opposition to the tax; the soldiers received their pay again, their courage was revived, they took Anxur from the Volsci, and carried on the siege of Veii with perseverance; though they suffered much from the severe cold of the winter.

At the next elections, the centuries almost unanimously chose five military tribunes out of the plebeians, and only M. Veturius out of the patricians. The five were C. Duilius, L. Atinius, Cn. Genucius, M. Pomponius, and Volero Publilius. To hasten the reduction of Veii, the three armies of the last year joined their strength; and they entirely defeated the forces of the Falisci and Capenates, who came to its relief. So complete a victory made the administration of the plebeian military tribunes glorious in the eyes of the people; but it was not happy. The extreme cold of the weather changed on a sudden to excessive heat; and this occasioned a mortality both

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCLIII.  
Bef. J. C.  
Three hun-  
dred ninety-  
nine.

Twenty-  
fourth Mil.  
Trib.

Livy, B. 5.  
c. 12.

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCLIV.  
Bef. J. C.  
Three hun-  
dred ninety-  
eight.

Twenty-  
fifth Mil.  
Trib.

Livy, B. 5.  
c. 13.

<sup>5</sup> Livy reports, that the military tribunes, now chosen, were all patricians, except Licinius. But Pighius and others are persuaded, that the historian has here made a mistake; all the names, except Furius, being names of plebeian families; and three of them, viz. Mælius, Mænius, and Titinius, being the names of three plebeian military tribunes, chosen about four years after this time, according to his own account.

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCLIV.  
Bef. J. C.  
Three hun-  
dred ninety-  
eight.

Twenty-  
fifth Mil.  
Trib.

among men and cattle. The Sybilline books being consulted upon this occasion, the duumvirs pretended to find there a sort of expiation never before used in Rome: it was called the lectisternium. They took down the statues of Apollo, Latona, Diana, Hercules, Mercury, and Neptune, from their niches, and laid them on three beds placed about a table, on which magnificent repasts were served up to those deities for eight days together. These public ceremonies were imitated in private families. Every one kept open house for friends and strangers, and conversed friendly even with adversaries. All processes, disputes, and animosities were suspended; nay, the prisoners were released from their chains, to partake of the public rejoicings, and it was a point of religion not to confine them again after the festival.

Liv. B. 5.  
c. 14.

IV. THE patricians, taking advantage of the present disposition of the people, gave out, that the mortality was owing to the wrath of the gods, who, they said, were displeased, because in *comitia*, held with the *sacred rite of observing the birds*, honours were prostituted, and no regard had to the distinction of families. By a religious scruple, thus raised in the minds of the multitude, and by presenting to them, at the next elections, candidates of the greatest dignity and best families, the patricians carried a point which they had much more at heart, than the business of the war; the recovering to their order the supreme magistracy, which they had seemed in danger of losing for ever.



L. Valerius \*, L. Furius †, M. Valerius, Q. Servilius ‡, Q. Sulpicius §, and the famous Camillus || were chosen to be the six governors of the republic. This year the Romans had a prodigy to employ their attention. It happened to be a dry summer ; but though there was little water in the rivers, springs, or marshes, the lake of Alba, that seldom rose so high as to the foot of the rocks which quite surrounded it, swelled on a sudden to such a height as to reach the very tops of those rocks. This strange accident occasioned much discourse in the camp ; and as in long sieges the soldiers of the different parties sometimes become acquainted, they talked of the prodigy from their several posts. One day when they were scoffing at one another in relation to the siege, an old soldier of the Veientes cried out in an enthusiastic manner, “ Veii shall never be taken, till all the water is run out of the lake of Alba.” A Roman centinel, who had great faith in divination, hearing what he said, and upon inquiry understanding that he was a diviner, contrived a stratagem whereby he made him prisoner, and then carried him before the Roman general, who sent him to the senate. The old man affirmed to the fathers, that what he had declared was agreeable to an ancient tradition, written in some prophetic books in his country, and that, if the Romans could draw the water out of the lake, Veii would be taken : but he advised them to have especial care, that the drains which should be made to carry it off, did

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCLV.  
Bef. J. C.  
Three hun-  
dred nine-  
ty-seven.

Twenty-  
sixth  
Mil. Trib.

Plut. Life of  
Cam. p. 150.

\* A fifth  
time.

† A third  
time.

‡ A second  
time.

§ A second  
time.

|| A second  
time.

Livy, B. 5.  
c. 15.

Val. Max.  
B. 1. c. 6.

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCLV.  
Bef. J. C.  
Three hun-  
dred nine-  
ty-seven.

Twenty-  
sixth Mil.  
Trib.

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCLVI.  
Bef. J. C.  
Three hun-  
dred nine-  
ty-six.

Twenty-  
seventh  
Mil. Trib.  
Livy, B. 5.  
c. 16.

Plut. in  
Camillus,  
p. 137.

not convey it to the sea. Though the senate were not disposed to an implicit faith in the diviner, yet they thought the matter of such importance, as to send a deputation of three patricians to Delphos to consult the oracle upon it.

Before the return of the deputies, the people had chosen six new military tribunes, all patricians<sup>6</sup>. The Romans, during the siege of Veii, found themselves obliged this year to make head not only against the Volsci, Falisci, and Capenates, but against the Tarquinienses, new enemies from Hetruria, who had committed hostilities in the Roman territory. A. Posthumius and L. Julius, (two of the governors) who had staid in Rome, requested leave to raise troops to disperse them, and when the tribunes of the commons obstructed the levies, put themselves at the head of a small number of volunteers, and fetching a great compass about, surprised the Tarquinienses, as they were returning home, made a terrible slaughter of them, and recovered the booty they had seized.

In the meantime the three patricians returned from Delphos; and, to the astonishment of the senate and people, the answer of

<sup>6</sup> L. JULIUS IULUS, second time,  
L. FURIUS, fourth time,  
L. SERGIUS,  
A. POSTHUMIUS,  
A. MANLIUS, third time,  
P. CORNELIUS, second time.

the Pythoness was perfectly conformable to the prediction and advice of the old diviner, whom, thereupon, they advised with concerning the necessary expiations to render the gods propitious. Then the Romans sent out pioneers to make a canal, which might carry off the waters of the lake, and convey them all over the fields, by trenches. [This fine work subsists to this day, and the water of the lake Albano which runs along Castel Gandolpho, passes through it.] But the oracle had likewise directed the Romans to re-establish the neglected ceremonies of religion, and to begin those again which had not been regularly performed. The first they interpreted of the *Feriæ Latinæ*, of late neglected: and they renewed the observation of them. And as to the second it was discovered, that the election of the present military tribunes had been defective, with regard to the auguries; whereupon they all abdicated, and after a short interregnum were succeeded by six new ones, all plebeians<sup>7</sup>. Their administration was not prosperous. Atinius and Genucius, two of them, marched with some troops to oppose an inundation of Hetrurians, who, not by order, but by permission of their governors, were coming to attack the Roman intrenchments before Veii: the tribunes fell into an ambush; Genucius was killed;

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCLVI.  
Bef. J. C.  
Three hundred ninety-six.

Twenty-seventh  
Mil. Trib.

Kircher,  
B. 3.  
Vet. Lat.

Livy, B. 5.  
c. 17, 18.

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCLVII.  
Bef. J. C.  
Three hundred ninety-five.

Twenty-eighth  
Mil. Trib.

<sup>7</sup> Livy tells us, that old Licinius Calvus, the first commoner ever raised to the military tribuneship, was now a second time named to that dignity by the majority of the *prerogative tribe*, i. e. of the tribe to whose lot it fell to



Year of  
R O M E  
CCCLVII.  
Bef. J. C.  
Three hun-  
dred nine-  
ty-five.

Twenty-  
eighth  
Mil. Trib.

Livy, B. 5.  
c. 19.

and Atinius, though he rallied his men and retreated, durst not any more face the enemy in open field. The news of this disaster so terrified the army before Veii, that it was with difficulty hindered from disbanding. Rome, in a yet greater consternation, had recourse, as in the most pressing and general calamities, to a dictator; appointing M. Furius Camillus to that supreme dignity. This elevation he owed wholly to the public danger and distress: a time when superior merit, without canvassing or intriguing, naturally gets into its right place. The change of the commander made a sudden change in every thing,—new hope—fresh courage—fortune seemed to turn at once in favour of the city<sup>s</sup>. Camillus, having named for general of the horse P. Cornelius Scipio, and having rigorously punished those cowards, who on the late alarm had fled from the camp, he rode thither with all expedition to revive the courage

but at his request, pleading age and infirmities, the people chose his son in his stead. From this passage in Livy, it appears that the order established by Servius Tullius, in voting, had been changed; and that the classes and centuries were now blended with the tribes. See p. 93, 94, 238.

P. LICINIUS,

L. ATINIUS, second time,

P. MÆLIUS, second time,

L. TITINIUS, second time,

P. MÆNIUS, second time,

C. GENUCIUS, second time.

<sup>s</sup> Omnia repentè mutaverat imperator mutatus, alia spes, alius animus hominum, fortuna quoque, alia urbis, videri.  
*Liv. L. 5. c. 19.*

of the soldiers ; which done, he returned to the city to raise a new army. The people strove who should first list themselves under his banners ; every body was for going to the wars with a general whom victory had never deserted. Nay the allies, (the Latines and Hernici) of their own accord, sent to offer him a strong supply of their ablest youth. The dictator marched from the city against the Falisci and the Capenates, whom, in the territory of Nepete, he defeated in a pitched battle ; and, after this victory, which left him the country open, he repaired to the camp before Veii, restored military discipline, which of late had been very much slackened, invested the place more straitly, and strengthened his lines by several additional forts.

As the besieged defended themselves with no less courage than before ; and as Camillus perceived that he should not be able to carry by assault or open force a town which had a whole army for its garrison, he had recourse to mines and sapping. His pioneers, whom he divided into six companies, relieved one another ; so that the work being carried on without interruption, they, in a short time, opened a passage under ground to the very citadel, the besieged suspecting nothing of the matter. The dictator, then thinking himself sure of conquest, sent to the conscript fathers, to know how they would have the spoils of the city disposed of. When the question came to be debated in the senate, old LICINIUS, whose opinion was

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCLVII.  
Bef. J. C.  
Three hun-  
dred nine-  
ty-five.

Twenty-  
eighth  
Mil. Trib.

Livy, B. 5.  
c. 20.

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCLVII.  
Bef. J. C.  
Three hun-  
dred nine-  
ty-five.

Twenty-  
eighth  
Mil. Trib.

the first asked by his son, (now military tribune) answered, that he thought, proclamation should be made, "that whoever of the citizens was desirous of sharing in the plunder of Veii, might repair to the dictator's camp." APPIUS CLAUDIUS spoke warmly against this bounty, as an unprecedented prodigality, and inconsistent with equity and sound policy. "That if the senate were absolutely against bringing the whole produce of the spoil into the public treasury (though much exhausted), yet, at least the soldiers ought to be paid out of it, and the commons be thereby, in some measure, eased of their burden of taxes; and that by this regulation every family in Rome would have some advantage from the booty." To this LICINIUS replied, "That the money, so reserved, and appropriated, would be a source of endless discontent, occasion impeachments, and seditions, and motions for new laws. That it was better to conciliate to the senate the good-will of the multitude by a bounty, which would relieve their indigence (caused by the taxes they had paid for ten years together) and would make them taste the sweet fruits of persevering in a war, in which they might almost be said to have grown old. That what each man should take with his own hand from the enemy, and bring home, would give him more pleasure, than a gift of much greater value, from the senate. That as it was only to avoid the bringing odium upon himself, the dictator had referred the matter to the senate, so the senate, from a like



regard to themselves, ought to abandon the whole spoil to the people, and suffer every man quietly to enjoy what the fortune of the war should give him."

This advice being thought the safer, prevailed; a proclamation was issued conformable to it, and hereupon prodigious numbers of the citizens immediately flocked to the dictator's camp.

Camillus, when he had taken the auspices, and ordered his troops to be ready for an assault upon the place, is said to have made the following vow and prayer: "O Pythian Apollo, it is by thy inspiration, and under thy guidance, that I am going to assault the city of Veii! and I do therefore vow to dedicate to thee the tenth part of the spoil which shall be taken in it. And, O queen Juno, who now residest in Veii, vouchsafe to follow us victorious to our city, which shall thenceforward be thy city, where thou shalt possess a temple worthy of thy greatness!" To engage the whole attention of the besieged, so that they might as late as possible discover their danger from his mine, Camillus (whose army was now numerous enough for the purpose) caused an assault to be made on all sides of the place at once. This drew the citizens from all quarters to the ramparts, wondering what should be the cause of so sudden and furious an attack from the Romans, who for some days had been quite still. While the besieged were in this amazement, the Roman soldiers, who filled the mine, rising up in

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCLVII.  
Bef. J. C.  
Three hun-  
dred nine-  
ty-five.

Twenty  
eighth  
Mil. Trib.

Livy, B. 5.  
c. 21, 22.

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCLVII.  
Bef. J. C.  
Three hun-  
dred nine-  
ty-five.

Twenty  
eighth  
Mil. Trib.

the middle of the temple of Juno, which stood in the citadel, sallied forth, and spread themselves in several bodies through the town. One fell upon the rear of those who were defending the walls, another broke down the gates; and the whole Roman army rushed into the place, putting all to the sword who did not surrender their arms. It is said, that the dictator, when he beheld the spoil, far exceeding his expectation both in quantity and value, lifted up his hands to heaven, and prayed, "that, if his prosperity, and the prosperity of the Roman people, should appear to gods or men excessive, the envy might be all spent upon him, rather than the public should feel even the smallest effects of it:" and that after this prayer, as he was turning himself to the right he fell to the ground; an accident, says Livy, which, after the condemnation of Camillus and the destruction of Rome by the Gauls, was interpreted into an omen foreboding those events<sup>9</sup>. The next day the prisoners of free condition were sold to the best bidder; and the money arising from thence the dictator transmitted into the public treasury, much to the dissatisfaction of the soldiers; though this was the only part withheld from

<sup>9</sup> According to Plutarch, Camillus prayed, *that the public might suffer nothing, and he himself very little*; and that he thought his prayer answered, by his falling down without hurting himself. Mr. Dacier is much displeased with this account, unworthy of the hero. Both Mr. Dacier and Gro-novius suppose that Plutarch did not understand Livy's words: *Ut eam invidiam lenire suo privato incommodo [potius] quàm minimo publico populi Romani liceret.*

them of the produce of the spoil. Nor did they hold themselves obliged to the dictator for what they brought away with them, because from a selfish motive he had referred a matter to the senate which it was in his own power to determine; nor did they think themselves obliged to the senate, but to the two Licinii only, father and son, who had made themselves the advocates of the people on this occasion.

When the conquerors had emptied Veii of all the riches that had belonged to *men*, they began to remove what belonged to the *gods*, and to remove the gods themselves; but this more like worshippers than plunderers. For they selected, out of the whole army, some of the youngest men, to whom, when their bodies were washed perfectly clean, and clothed in white, it was given in charge to transport Queen Juno to Rome.

They entered her temple with reverence, and, at first, but lightly touched her, to see how she would take it: because, among the Hetrurians, it was not customary for any but a priest of a particular family to handle that image. As she gave no sign of anger, one of the lads, in a civil manner, then asked her, "Are you willing to go to Rome, JUNO?"—"Yes, yes," answered the rest, all together, "she is willing; she gives a nod of assent;" and hence, (says Livy) a fabulous report, that she herself made the answer in words. He adds, "Certain it is, that she was easily moved from her place, and that they got her to Rome with as little trouble, as if she

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCLVII.  
Bef. J. C.  
Three hun-  
dred nine-  
ty-five.

Twenty-  
eighth  
Mil. Trib.



Year of  
R O M E  
CCCLVII.  
Bef. J. C.  
Three hun-  
dred nine-  
ty-five.

Twenty-  
eighth Mil.  
Trib.

had followed them thither on foot. They conveyed her safe and sound to the Aventine Hill, whither Camillus had invited her, and which was thenceforward to be the seat of her residence for ever; and there he dedicated a temple to her in discharge of a vow, which, to gain her favour, he had formerly made. Such, after a ten years siege, was the fate of Veii, the richest city of Tuscany; it was at once despoiled of its riches, its inhabitants, and its gods.

#### CHAP. XXXVII.

*I. The people are much displeased with Camillus. II. The next year (the republic being under the government of six military tribunes, all patricians) a tribune of the commons proposes, that half of the senators, knights, and people of Rome should remove to Veii, and settle there. After much struggle, Camillus and the other senators bring this project to nothing. III. Camillus, chosen one of the six military tribunes for the year following, has the conduct of the war against the Falisci. He besieges Falerii their capital city, and punishes a schoolmaster, who would have betrayed the place to him. The Falisci submit to the Romans. IV. The people, when the time comes for electing their tribunes, choose to the same office those of the old ones who had appeared for the proposal of removing half the people to Veii. On the other hand, the patricians get the consular government restored. The project of going to Veii is debated in an assembly of the people, and rejected by a majority of only one tribe. The senate decree seven acres of the lands of Veii to every freeman of Rome. V. The Volsinienses, a people of Hetruria, take arms against Rome. The consuls being seized with a contagious distemper, resign the fasces. An interregnum ensues. And then six military tribunes are elected to the government.*

I. THE length of the siege, the dangers attending it, the uncertainty of success, the importance of the conquest, all these made the news of the taking of Veii be received at Rome with the utmost transport of joy: the temples were filled with Roman ladies, and four days were set apart for a public thanksgiving to the gods; which had never before been practised in the republic upon the greatest success. The very triumph of the dictator had something new and singular in it. Camillus appeared in a stately chariot drawn by four horses, all milk white, and he had coloured his face with vermillion.

White horses, since the expulsion of the kings, had been allowed only to Jupiter and the Sun; and it was with vermillion the statues of the gods were commonly painted. In the midst therefore of the praises which the people gave the dictator, they could not without a secret indignation behold him affecting a pomp, which in a manner put him upon a level with the gods. Vanity so impious much diminished the esteem and affection of the multitude for him; and he had not long resigned his dictatorship, before he became perfectly odious to them. What partly occasioned this was the vow which, just before<sup>1</sup> the assault upon Veii, he made, (as we have before observed) to consecrate the tenth part of the booty to Apollo.

<sup>1</sup> Plutarch says, that Camillus made this vow before he left Rome to go to the siege of Veii.

Year of  
R. O. M. E.  
CCCLVII.  
Bef. J. C.  
Three hundred  
and ninety-five.

Twenty-  
eighth Mil.  
Trib.

Livy, B. 5.  
c. 23.

Plutarch in  
Camillus,  
p. 132.  
Plin. B. 33.

Livy, B. 5.  
c. 23.  
Plin. in  
Camillus,  
p. 133.

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCLVII.  
Bef. J. C.  
Three hun-  
dred nine-  
ty-five.

Twenty-  
eighth Mil.  
Trib.

Amid the hurry and confusion of the plundering he remembered not his vow: and when it returned to his mind, [a year after] there could no easy means be found to make the soldiers give back the tenth of what they had got. In this perplexity the senate proclaimed, that all who were desirous to have a clear conscience, and secure prosperity to their families, should honestly compute the value of their booty, and bring the tenth part of that value to the quæstors, in order to make the god a present suitable to his majesty, and proportioned to the benefits received from him.

This contribution, exacted at a wrong time, alienated the hearts of the people from Camillus. His vow, they said, was to give Apollo the tenth of the enemy's spoils, but that he performed it by tithing the goods of his *fellow-citizens*.

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCLVIII.  
Bef. J. C.  
Three hun-  
dred nine-  
ty-four.

Twenty-  
ninth Mil.  
Trib.

Livy, B. 5.  
c. 24.

II. THE centuries chose six military tribunes<sup>2</sup>, all patricians, for the new year. In the beginning of their administration, the Capenates sued for peace, and obtained it. The war with the Falisci went on. In the meantime, to quiet the discontented people at home, the senate decreed, that a colony of 3000 Romans should be sent into the country of the Volsci (who had lately made submissions) each man to have

- <sup>2</sup> P. CORNELIUS COSSUS,
- P. CORNELIUS SCIPIO,
- M. VALERIUS, second time,
- Q. FABIUS, third time,
- L. FURIUS, fifth time,
- Q. SERVILIUS, second time.



about three acres and a half of land : but when the time came for enrolling the names of those who were to form the colony, the plebeians expressed a contempt of the senate's bounty.

“Why should they be sent into banishment among the Volsci, when the fair city of Veii, and its territory, more fertile and more ample than that of Rome, were before their eyes?”

Nay SICINIUS, one of the tribunes of the commons, preferred a bill for removing one half of the senate and people of Rome to Veii, (a city better situated and better built than Rome) yet so, that the two cities should form but one commonwealth. He added, that the Romans would, by this means, more easily preserve their conquests. The chief nobles opposed his project with all their might; (and they had gained over to their side some of his colleagues.) They said, “they would sooner die than suffer so mischievous a bill to pass into a law: a people so prone to civil dissension, when dwelling together in *one* and the same city,—what will be their temper when living separate in *two*?—Would any man in his wits prefer a conquered city to his own native city which had conquered it?—Would you have Veii, after its being subdued, exalted to be more considerable than it was before its reduction?—You may leave us here, if you please; but nothing shall ever engage us to relinquish the place of our birth, and, in order to follow the new founder, Sicinius, to Veii, forsake our god Romulus, the son of a god, and the father and founder of Rome.”

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCLVIII.  
Bef. J. C.  
Three hun-  
dred nine-  
ty-four.

Twenty-  
ninth Mil.  
Trib.

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCLVIII.  
Bef. J. C.  
Three hun-  
dred nine-  
ty-four.

Twenty-  
ninth  
Mil. Trib.  
Livy, B. 5.  
c. 25.

In the struggle about this bill, nothing restrained the populace from blows and violence, but the deep-rooted respect which they had for the principal senators, who whenever a shout was raised for beginning a scuffle, presented themselves to their fury, bidding them *assault, strike, kill.*

CAMILLUS went about, loudly declaiming, "That it was no wonder the people were seized with a madness, seeing they had nothing so little at heart as the performance of vows to the gods, after receiving the favours, to obtain which the vows had been made. He would say nothing of the ALMS given to Apollo, instead of the TENTH of the spoil: each of the individuals had bound himself; so the state was free. But he was obliged in conscience to let them know one thing; that, though no mention had hitherto been made, but of the moveables, yet his vow to Apollo had comprehended the city of Veii, and all the territory belonging to it. The senate [pretending to be] perplexed with this new scruple, referred it to the pontiffs; and these (in concert with Camillus) declared, "that a tenth of whatever he had belonged to the Veientes before the dictator made his vow, and had, after his making the vow, fallen into the power of the Romans, ought to be sacred to Apollo. In consequence of this judgment, the city of Veii and its territory were appraised, and a tenth of the value was given out of the public treasury to the military tribunes, to purchase gold with it, that a golden cup, or vase, large and

massy, might be sent as a present to Apollo. Gold being scarce, the ladies agreed among themselves to lend their toys and ornaments to the state. Never were the fathers better pleased with any thing, than this complaisance of the sex; and, in return for it, a decree was made, that they should have the privilege of riding in covered chariots to the sacrifices and public games, and in open ones at all other times.

The business of the vow thus settled, the tribunes of the commons began to stir again, and the multitude to vent their anger against all the principal senators, and especially Camillus,—“That by their reservations, and their consecrations, they had reduced the spoil of Veii to nothing.” And finding that the affair of removing to Veii was not like to be determined this year, they chose again, to the plebeian tribuneship, the same men who had preferred the bill. On the other hand the senate, by employing all their influence, got those tribunes re-chosen who had opposed the bill; so that there was little change in the college.

III. By a like exertion of their utmost strength, in the *comitia* held for electing military tribunes, the fathers prevailed to have Camillus chosen to be one of the number. They pretended to want an able general for the war, but their real aim was to provide themselves with a champion able to make head against the tribunes of the commons, resolutely bent upon an Agrarian law, and an equitable partition of

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCLVIII.  
Bef. J. C.  
Three hundred ninety-four.

Twenty-ninth  
Mil. Trib.

Livy, B. 5.  
c. 26.



Year of  
R O M E  
CCCLIX.  
Bef. J. C.  
Three hun-  
dred nine-  
ty-three.

Thirtieth  
Mil. Trib.

the lands of Veii. The five colleagues given him were all patricians<sup>3</sup>. Things remained quiet till Camillus had taken the field; and even then the plebeian tribunes made little progress in their affairs; while he, their most formidable adversary, acquired new glory by his conduct in the war against the Falisci. The enemy for some time kept themselves shut up in Falerii, till the devastations made by the Romans, in the territory about it, provoked them at length to come out: their fear however hindered them from advancing further than about a mile from the town, and they encamped in a place so strong by nature, that they thought it needed no other fortifications. Camillus nevertheless attacked them there, defeated them, and took their camp. The whole spoil he put into the quæstors' hands, much to the discontent of the soldiers; yet he kept them in awe by the strictness of his discipline; so that they hated him for the very virtue they admired in him. After this victory he invested Falerii, and surrounded it with lines, but at so great a distance from the walls, that there was more than sufficient room for the besieged to come abroad and take the air without danger.

The Falisci had brought from Greece the cus-

<sup>3</sup> M. FURIUS CAMILLUS, third time,

L. FURIUS, sixth time,

C. ÆMILIUS,

Sp. POSTHUMIUS,

P. CORNELIUS SCIPIO, second time,

L. VALERIUS POPLICOLA.

tom of committing all their children to the care of one man, who was to instruct them in all sorts of polite learning, and see them perform the exercises proper for their age. The children had used often to walk with their master without the walls of the city, before the siege; and their fears of an enemy, who kept quiet, and at such a distance, were not great enough to make them discontinue the practice. But the present schoolmaster proved a traitor. At first he led the youth only along the walls, then a little further, and at length took his opportunity, and brought them through the Roman camp, quite to the general's tent; whom he accosted with telling him, that by putting those boys, the sons of the principal citizens, into his hands, the city in effect was delivered up to him. Camillus, struck with horror at the treachery, ordered his lictors to strip the traitor, tie his hands behind him, and then furnish the youth with rods, to whip him back again into the city. A little before, the Falisci had protested they would rather undergo the fate of the Veientes, than imitate the cowardice of the Capenates: but now they ardently desired peace; so deep an impression had the probity of Camillus made upon them. The deputies whom they sent to him on this business he suffered to proceed to Rome; where they addressed the senate in the following manner. "You and your general have gained a victory over us, which cannot be displeasing to gods or men. We submit ourselves to you, out of a persuasion

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCLIX.  
Béf. J. C.  
Three hundred  
nine-ty-three.

Thirtieth  
Mil. Trib.

Plut. Life of  
Camillus,  
p. 133, 134.  
Liv. B. 5.  
c. 27.

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCLIX.  
Bef. J. C.  
Three hun-  
dred nine-  
ty-three.

Thirtieth  
Mil. Trib.

that we shall live more happy under your laws than under our own. The Romans and Falisci are this day giving two great examples to mankind: you, in preferring an honourable action to victory; we, in rather yielding to the power of virtue, than the force of arms." Camillus demanded of the Falisci a year's pay for his troops, and having on that condition granted them peace, led back his army to Rome.

The applauses now given to Camillus by his fellow-citizens were much sincerer than those he had formerly received, when the white horses drew his triumphal chariot through the city. And the senate, ashamed perhaps of having delayed to discharge his vow to Apollo, deputed, at this time, three patricians, L. Valerius, L. Sergius, and A. Manlius, to convey the golden vase to Delphos. The long ship, on which these deputies embarked, was intercepted by some pirates from the isle of Liparæ; and thither the captors carried their prize. But it luckily happened that Timasitheus, this year chief magistrate of Liparæ, had as much religion as any Roman. For when he understood, that the treasure which had fallen into the hands of his people, was an offering designed for Apollo, in discharge of a vow; and when he had further learnt, that the three Romans were ambassadors; he not only entertained them hospitably, but in person, with a squadron of ships, (the pious pirates consenting to it) conveyed them to Delphos, and from thence (when



they had made their offering) safe back to Rome: for which generous and religious proceeding, he received, in virtue of a decree of the senate, rich presents from the public; and they made a league of hospitality with him.

War with the Æqui was carried on this year, under the conduct of Æmilius and Posthumius, with such various success, that neither the citizens at Rome, nor the soldiers in the field, could, for some time, tell which side had the better. At first when the two generals acted in conjunction, they gained a victory; but afterwards when, separating, Æmilius thought fit to go to garrison Verrugo, and Posthumius to lay waste the enemies' borders, the troops of the latter, carelessly secure, and marching in disorder, were by the Æqui surprised, struck with terror, and put to the rout. They fled to some neighbouring hills; and their fright communicated itself to the garrison at Verrugo. Posthumius, as soon as he had rallied his men, and posted them so as to be out of danger, reproached them bitterly with their coward-like behaviour. They confessed their fault, begged with earnestness to be instantly led to the attack of the enemy's camp (which was within sight, in the plain below), and declared they would submit to any punishments if they did not force it before night. The general commended their ardour, bid them refresh themselves, and be ready at the fourth watch. As the Æqui, to hinder

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCLIX  
Bef. J. C.  
Three hundred nine-  
ty-three.

Thirtieth  
Mil. Trib.

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCLIX.  
Bef. J. C.  
Three hun-  
dred nine-  
ty-three.

Thirtieth  
Mil. Trib.

the Romans from escaping to Verrugo, were guarding the road that led thither, the two armies met in that road. The battle began by moonlight; and the shouts of the combatants reaching Verrugo, the troops there, imagining that Posthumius's camp was assaulted, took a fright, and, notwithstanding all that Æmilius could say, fled for refuge to Tusculum. Thence flew a report to Rome, that Posthumius was killed, and his army defeated: but a letter, crowned with laurel, arrived from that general to the senate presently after, with an account of his having obtained a complete victory.

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCLX.  
Bef. J. C.  
Three hun-  
dred nine-  
ty-two.

Eighty-se-  
venth Con-  
sulship.

Livy, B. 5.  
c. 29.

IV. THE bill for removing the Veii being still in suspense, the commons, when the time came for electing their tribunes, were for continuing those of the old ones who had proposed the bill; and the patricians endeavoured to get those re-elected who had opposed it. The former prevailed in their own *comitia*. The promoters of the law were re-chosen, and the opposers excluded: upon which the fathers in revenge made a decree that consuls should be chosen for the next year: L. Lucretius Flavius and Servius Sulpitius Camerinus were by the centuries raised to that dignity.

Under the new administration, Sicinius renewed his intrigues with more zeal than ever, to get the law passed for removing half of the people and of the senate to Veii. A. Virginius and Q. Pomponius, two of the last year's tribunes of the commons, who had distin-

guished themselves by their opposition to the law, were cited to appear before the tribes; and, notwithstanding all the influence of the senate in their favour, they were fined \* 10,000 asses of brass: a sentence which gave great offence to the fathers. Camillus loudly inveighed against the commons, who, he said, “were so blind, as not to see, that by their iniquitous sentence they had overturned the tribunitian power; inasmuch as they had deprived their tribunes of the privilege of INTERCESSION. But they deceived themselves if they imagined the senate would endure an unbridled licentiousness in any of those magistrates. That if the violence of some of the tribunes could not be repelled by the help of their colleagues, the fathers would † find another weapon! He likewise reproved the consuls for quietly suffering the two tribunes to be oppressed, who had done nothing but by advice of the senate, and had trusted to their promised protection.” And, as to the law in question, he never ceased exhorting the fathers to oppose it with all their might; advising them to go down into the Forum (when the tribes should be assembled to determine the affair) as men prepared to fight in defence of their native land, the altars of their household gods, and the temples of the gods of their country. He added, “Were I at liberty to think of my own glory, when that of my country is in question, what could flatter my ambition more, than to see a city, which I have con-

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCLX.  
Bef. J. C.  
Three hundred ninety-two.

Eighty-second Consulship.

\* 32l. 5s. 10d.

Arbuthnot.  
Livy, B. 5. c. 30.

† Create a dictator.



Year of  
R O M E  
CCCLX  
Bef. J. C.  
Three hun-  
dred ninety  
two.

Eighty-se-  
venth Con-  
sulship.

quered, inhabited by Romans, who would be so many living witnesses of my victory, and where every object would be a monument of my glory? But I think it would be impious to re-people a city whose gods have deserted it, and shameful to prefer before your own country a country conquered by it."

The senators, old and young, moved by these exhortations, went all in a body to the Forum, when the law was to be proposed, and dispersing themselves into their respective tribes, with tears in their eyes, conjured the people not to abandon "that city where they were born, and in defence of which both they and their ancestors had so bravely and so successfully fought." Then pointing to the capitol, the sanctuary of Vesta, and to the other temples all around, "Can you consent that the Roman people should be driven, like exiles, from their guardian gods, and their native country, to inhabit a city not long ago peopled by their enemies? Better had it been never to have taken Veii, than that Rome should be thus deserted." As the patricians, abstaining from all violence, employed prayers and entreaties only on this occasion, and made frequent mention of the gods, they, by raising a religious scruple in the minds of many, prevailed to have the law rejected, though it was only by a majority of one tribe. And now the senate were so pleased with this victory, that the next morning, at the request of the consuls, they made a decree, whereby they

assigned seven acres of the lands of Veii, not only to every father of a family, but to every single person of free condition, that the former might be enabled to educate their children, and the latter be induced to marry.

V. On the other hand, the people, obliged by this liberality, made no opposition to the election of consuls for the next year. L. Valerius Potitus and M. Manlius (afterwards Capitolinus) were the persons chosen; and they began their year by performing a vow made by Camillus, when dictator, to celebrate the great games. (Of these there were two sorts, the one celebrated every year in the month of September, in honour to Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva; the other, called votive, or extraordinary, had no fixed day appointed for them, and were celebrated in honour of Jupiter only.)

The Romans, commanded by their two consuls, had this year a battle with the Æqui, whom they presently routed. Valerius, because he pursued the enemy further, and killed more of them than Manlius did, was more honoured than he; Manlius had only an ovation; Valerius a triumph. In this same year, war was declared against the Volsinienses and Salpinates, (nations of Hetruria) who, joining their forces, had, without provocation, made an incursion on the lands of the republic. No army, however, could, for some time, be led against these new enemies, because a famine and pestilence, occasioned by an excessive hot and dry season, then raged in the Roman

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCLX.  
Bef. J. C.  
Three hundred ninety-two.

Eighty-seventh Consulship

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCLXI.  
Bef. J. C.  
Three hundred ninety-one.

Eighty-eighth Consulship.

Livy, B. 5.  
c. 31.  
Fast. Cap.  
Ciceronis,  
in Ver. 2.

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCLXI.  
Bef. J. C.  
Three hun-  
dred nine-  
ty-one.

Eighty-  
eighth Con-  
sulship.

territory. C. Julius, one of the censors, being carried off, L. Cornelius was substituted in his place, a thing afterwards deemed inauspicious, because Rome was taken in that lustrium: nor after this time did the Romans ever substitute, in the place of a censor who died in his office, another person to be colleague to the survivor. The consuls too falling sick, the senate decreed that they should abdicate; and an interregnum ensue. Camillus was created *interrex*, and succeeded by Cornelius Scipio, and he by Valerius Potitus. This last held an assembly for the election of six military tribunes, that in case some of the supreme magistrates should be seized with the distemper, there might yet be others in a condition to take care of the public.

#### CHAP. XXXVIII.

- I. *Camillus is cited to appear in judgment before the people. To avoid a public condemnation he goes into exile.*
- II. *Shortly after, Clusium in Hetruria being besieged by the Gauls under King Brennus, the inhabitants implore the assistance of the Romans. Three brothers of the Fabian family are sent ambassadors from Rome to mediate a peace. They rashly transgress the law of nations. Brennus, in anger, raises the siege, and marches towards Rome.*
- III. *He gives the Romans a total overthrow on the banks of the Allia. The third day after the battle, he enters Rome, burns the city, and invests the capitol.*
- IV. *Camillus, though at this time an exile, is, by a commission from the senate, in the capitol, constituted dictator.*



V. *The Gauls attempt to scale the capitol in the night. Their approach to the ramparts is discovered by the cackling of some geese. The assailants are repulsed, chiefly by the bravery of M. Manlius.* VI. *Both besiegers and besieged being distressed by famine, they enter upon a treaty. The Romans are to purchase a peace with gold. While the gold is weighing, Camillus arrives: he forces the Gauls to raise the siege, and quit the country.* VII. *Rome being destroyed, the tribunes renew the proposal of removing to Veii. Camillus (who is continued in the dictatorship the whole year) opposes it with great zeal; but an accidental word of a centurion is what determines the people to stay and rebuild the city.* VIII. *Before the end of the next year (during which the commonwealth is governed by six military tribunes) the city is entirely rebuilt.*

I. L. LUCRETIUS, Serv. Sulpitius, M. Æmilius, L. Furius\*, Agr. Furius, and C. Æmilius†, the six new governors of the republic, entered on their office the first of July. The war with the Volsinienses fell by lot to Lucretius and Æmilius; that with the Salpinates to Agrippa Furius and Sulpitius. A total defeat, suffered by the Volsinienses, taught them prudence, so that they begged a truce from the Romans; which was granted for twenty years upon conditions. As for the Salpinates, they were so terrified by the defeat of the Volsinienses, that they durst not appear in the field, but left their country open to be pillaged.

At this time, one Cœditius, a man of the lowest rank, pretended to have heard a miraculous voice, which pronounced distinctly these words, "Go to the magistrates, and tell them,

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dred ninety.

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\* A seventh  
time.

† A second  
time.

Livy, B. 5.  
c. 32.

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Bef. J. C.  
Three hun-  
dred ninety.

Thirty-first  
Mil. Trib.

Plut. in  
Camillus,  
p. 134.

Ib. p. 135.  
Livy, B. 5.  
c. 32.

the Gauls draw near<sup>1</sup>." The meanness of the man made the military tribunes despise the warning; and, notwithstanding the daily conquests made by the Gauls, the Romans appear plainly by their manner of treating the great Camillus (their only general capable of making head against such formidable neighbours) to have had no apprehension of any danger from them. Apuleius, one of the tribunes of the commons, summoned him to appear before an assembly of the people, and answer to the accusation of having robbed the public of some of the riches of Veii, of which charge certain brass doors, seen in his house, were said to be a proof.

Camillus was, at this time, in excessive affliction for the death of a son; and therefore, on receiving the summons, he sent to the great men, formerly his colleagues in office, to his friends, his clients, and the chief men of his tribe, to come to him at his house. His purpose was to sound their thoughts and dispositions. When the assembly, which was very numerous, had considered of the matter, they answered, that they would willingly pay the fine in which he should be condemned; but that it was not in their power to acquit him. Hereupon, he chose rather to banish himself from Rome, than present to undergo the shame.

<sup>1</sup> Camillus afterwards erected a temple to the unknown divinity who made this revelation; and the Romans coined, for him the name of Aius Locutius.

of a condemnation. It is said, that when he came to one of the gates of the city, he stopped, and turning towards the capitol, prayed to the gods, that his ungrateful countrymen might quickly have cause to repent their having repaid his services with so sharp an outrage. Having thus cursed his fellow-citizens, as Achilles did the Greeks, he retired to Ardea, a city not far from Rome, and, in his absence, was fined fifteen thousand asses of brass; [about forty-eight pounds of our money.]

The destruction of Rome, by the Gauls, following so closely these transactions, it is no wonder, that the multitude, always superstitious, ascribed it to the anger of the gods on account of the injustice done to Camillus.

II. HE was no sooner gone, than envoys arrived from the inhabitants of Clusium\*, in Hetruria†, imploring the assistance of the republic against an army of Gauls, which had made an irruption into Italy, and now besieged their city. The occasion of the siege was this:

ARUNS, a native of Clusium, a man well born, was guardian to an orphan, named (or perhaps styled) LUCUMO, the richest and the handsomest youth in the place. The ward, who had been brought up, from his infancy, in the house of ARUNS, could not find in his heart to leave it, even when arrived at that age which puts a young man under his own direction: he had such an esteem and affection for his guardian, that there was no possibility of living without his company. It ap-

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Livy, B. 5.  
c. 33.  
\* Chiusi.

† Tuscany.  
Plut. vita  
Camilli, p.  
135, 136.



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Four hun-  
dred ninety.

Thirty-first  
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peared, however, after some time, that the chains which held our pupil so fast bound in the place of his education were not the virtues of ARUNS, but the charms of his wife. The passion being mutual, and growing too violent to be either conquered or concealed, Lucumo carried off the lady, avowed the action, and kept her publicly. To obtain reparation of honour, by course of law, was attempted in vain: large bribes and the numerous adherents to the ample fortune of LUCUMO, enabled him to triumph over the complaints of an injured husband, not so rich as he. ARUNS, despairing of justice, applied his thoughts to revenge. The state was now become guilty of the cruel injury and affront which he had received from his ward. Against Clusium therefore he aimed the meditated mischief, forming a design to reduce the city under the domination of an army of foreign freebooters. He knew, that, from several cantons of Gaul<sup>2</sup>,

<sup>2</sup> Gaul was anciently divided into three parts. The first, which reached from the British sea to the Seine, was called (by the Romans) Gallia Belgica. The second, which comprehended all the country between the Seine and the Garonne quite to the Alps, they named Gallia Celtica. The third, containing all that tract of ground which lies between the Garonne, the Pyrenees, and the Western Ocean, was called Gallia Aquitanica.

The only Gauls who at several times crossed the Alps and settled in Italy were the Celtæ, or the inhabitants of Gallia Celtica. About the year of Rome 160, during the reign of Tarquin the elder, Ambigatus, king of the Celtæ, finding his dominions over-stocked with ungovernable subjects, sent away vast numbers of them to seek their fortune under the command of his two nephews,

multitudes of men had been formerly drawn into Italy by the allurements of its delicious wines: and it is said, that the SENONES (who possessed that part of Gaul, which lies to the south-east of Paris, and whose capital city was Sens) being hitherto unacquainted with that

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Segovesus and Bellovesus. The former took his way through the Hercynian Forest (of which the present Black Forest was but a small part) and settled in a canton of Germany, ever since called Bohemia or Boiemia, from the word Boii, the greatest part of his followers being of that Celtic nation, which was so named. But these being afterwards driven thence by the Marcomani or Sclavonians, retired into that country which lies between the Inn and the Iser, and which from them took the name of Boiaria or Bavaria.

Bellovesus was followed by great numbers of almost all the other Celtic nations, as well as of the Boii. He crossed the Rhone, spread his army over Dauphiny and Provence, and at length entered Italy, between the mountains Genevre and Cenis. At this time the Hettrurians or Tyrrhenians possessed the better part of it. Bellovesus having defeated them in a battle on the banks of the Ticin, drove them before him, and took possession of their lands, each of the nations which followed him having its distinct portion of the conquered countries. The Taurini, or the inhabitants of the mountains on the side of Gaul, had Piedmont, the capital of which is Turin. Those inhabitants of Provence, who were called Salyes, had Liguria. The Libici, another people of Provence, were placed on the north side of the Po, where Verceil now is. The Insures or Burgundians settled in the fine country of the Milanese, and there built a town, which they called Mediolanum (Milan) from the name of a little city in the territory of the Autunois, in Burgundy. The Orobii, who had dwelt on the banks of the river Orobis in the country now called Languedoc, settled in the territory of Bergamo, and built both the city of that name, and Como, but re-

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dred ninety.

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1 Esdras iii.  
18.

sort of liquor, he therefore chose to address himself to them, in the hope of gaining them to his purpose, by the means of some excellent wine, which he carried with him. It prevailed against all objections. [*O ye men, how exceeding strong is wine!*] A numerous army of

tained their old appellation of Orobii. Bellovesus seems not to have carried his conquests further than this, nor to have brought into Italy all the nations which had engaged to follow him.

A second irruption into Italy was made by the Cænomani, (or those people of Gallia Celtica who dwelt between the mouths of the Seine and the Loire) under the conduct of one Elitonis. He was probably followed likewise by the Bretons of Vannes, and the Carnutes. These new adventurers are said to have been tempted to cross the Alps by the wine which Bellovesus sent them. The Gauls were at this time almost perfect strangers to wine; nay, so late as the time of Julian the Apostate, there was none made in France, at least in the neighbourhood of Paris. The Cænomani settled themselves north-east of the Insures, and possessed the present Bresciano, Cremonese, and Mantua, on the north side of the Po. The Veneti, or the Bretons of Vannes, settled more eastward, on the borders of the Adriatic gulf, and the country still retains the name of Venetia, which it received from them. As for the Carnutes, they went further north, and took possession of the territory called from them Carniola.

It is uncertain from what part of Gaul the Læves (or Lævi) and the Ananes (or Anamares) came, who made the third irruption into Italy; but the historians agree, that the Lævi seized the country of Novara, on the north side the Po; and that the Ananes settled in the neighbourhood of Placenza, on the south side of that river.

The fourth migration of Gauls into Italy was when the Bois and Lingones passed the Alpes Penninæ, or mount St. Godard, and settled on the south side of the Po, between Bologna and Ravenna.



these Gauls, guided by the Hetrurian fugitive, passed the Alps, and, without disturbing the Celtæ, in Italy, fell down upon Umbria, and possessed themselves of all the country, from Ravenna to Picenum, comprehending the present dutchy of Urbino. They are supposed to have been there about six years, when (in the year of Rome 362) to reward their guide, by revenging his quarrel, they undertook the siege of Clusium.

The Clusians had no alliance with Rome, nor any claim to her friendship, unless it were by their not having armed in defence of their countrymen, the Veientes, when the Romans besieged Veii: nevertheless they sent ambassadors to crave the aid of the republic. Succours the senate did not grant; but commissioned three patricians, the sons of M. Fabius Ambustus, to go to the camp of the Gauls, and, in the name of the senate and people of Rome, admonish them *to forbear hostilities against the CLUSIANS, from whom they had received NO INJURY.* The three brothers having delivered

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Livy, B. 5.  
c. 35—55.  
Plut. in  
Camillus,  
p. 136—  
145.

The Hetrurians being driven out of their old habitations by these inundations of strangers, passed the Apennines, and retired into that country, which has been ever since called Hetruria, or Tuscany. It was divided into twelve lucumonies, and reached from the Arno to the Tiber; being bounded to the north, by the Apennines; and to the south, by the Tyrrhenian sea. And we are not told, that the Hetrurians were any more disturbed by the Celtæ, from the year of Rome 156 to the year 356.

It was 300 years after the invasion by Bellovesus, that the Senones made the fifth irruption into Italy. C. & R.

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dred ninety.

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their errand, in a council expressly summoned to give them audience, BRENNUS, the king (or chief commander) answered, laughing, "No injury? Yes indeed, the Clusians have done us a great deal of wrong: for they have more land than they are able to cultivate, and yet have refused to give a part of it to us, who are strangers and numerous, and very poor. They do us the same wrong that every powerful nation receives from its weaker neighbour, whom it has not yet subdued. The most ancient of all laws ordains, that the weak should yield to the strong, and the brave be lords of the world<sup>3</sup>."

This haughty answer left the Fabii no hope of effecting an accommodation; and it would seem, that through the excess of their anger they forgot their character of ambassadors. For they soon after put themselves at the head of the Clusians, when these made a sally; and Quintus Fabius had the fortune to kill a general of the enemy, remarkable for his advantageous stature, and gallant appearance. At first, the Gauls mistook the victor for an Hetrurian; but while he was stripping the vanquished of his armour, BRENNUS perceived, that he was

<sup>3</sup> Plutarch makes Brennus speak, as if he were acquainted with all the petty wars, which Rome had made upon her neighbours, the Albans, the Fidenates, the Ardeates, the Volsci, &c. But Livy represents the Gauls (in their answer to the ambassadors) as strangers to the Roman name. *Etsi novum nomen audiant Romanorum*, &c. B. 5. c. 36.

one of the Roman ambassadors, who, violating the law of nations, had thus taken part with the besieged. Instantly he ceased the fight, and sounded a retreat from before Clusium: ROME was now his object. Some of his officers would have had him march thither without the least delay. The advice of the elder sort prevailed: BRENNUS, before he set forward, despatched a herald to demand of the Romans, that, in satisfaction for the injury done by their ambassadors, these, as the law of nations required, should be delivered up to the Gauls.

The demand did not appear unreasonable to the conscript fathers; the priests especially and the feciales [the Roman heralds] declared that it was perfectly just. Nevertheless, as it concerned persons of high birth, and great credit, the senate would determine nothing; but referred the matter to an *assembly of the people*: and so powerful an influence had Fabius Ambustus, the father of the ambassadors, on the multitude, that they not only decreed to send back the herald without the satisfaction required, but chose the delinquents to be three of the six military tribunes<sup>4</sup> for the new year.

BRENNUS, on the return and report of his

<sup>4</sup> FABIUS,

CÆSO FABIUS,

CAIUS FABIUS,

Q. SULPITIUS,

Q. SERVILIUS, a fourth time,

SER. CORNELIUS.

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Bef. J. C.  
Three hun-  
dred ninety.

Thirty-first  
Mil. Trib.

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R O M E  
CCCLXIII.  
Bef. J. C.  
Three hun-  
dred eighty-  
nine.

Thirty-se-  
cond Mil.  
Trib.



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Bef. J. C.  
Three hun-  
dred eighty-  
nine.

Thirty-se-  
cond Mil.  
Trib.


herald, put his army in march with all expedition<sup>5</sup>. Observing that the inhabitants of the villages fled, in a fright, at his approach, he caused it to be proclaimed, wherever he passed, that his arms were bent against the Romans only, and that to Rome he was going.

The Romans (as Livy observes) seem to have been, at this time, infatuated. In their petty wars with the Fidenates, Veientes, and other neighbours, it had been their usual practice, on occasions of extraordinary distress or danger, to create a dictator; in whose single and absolute authority they always found great advantages, with respect both to the levying soldiers for the war, and to the maintaining discipline in the field; and the person chosen to this high office was ever from among their ablest and most approved generals: but now, when threatened by a far more dreadful enemy than the most potent of the neighbouring states, they neglected an expedient so successfully tried, and committed the conduct of an army, on which the preservation of Rome depended, to six commanders, equal in authority, most of them young, and of more spirit than capacity.

With a large body of troops, levied in the haste of a general consternation, they marched out, and met the Gauls near the place where

<sup>5</sup> Diod. Sic. Lib. iv. makes Brennus wait the arrival of a reinforcement from Gaul, before he begins his march; and this delay will give time (which otherwise it will be hard to find,) for the solicitations of Fabius the father, and the new elections.

the river Allia falls into the Tiber, about eleven miles from the city. And here they immediately presented battle to the enemy, without having taken any of those previous measures, which were customary, and which prudence and the superstitious prejudices of the soldiers required. No fortified camp behind them, to retreat to in case of a disaster: a total neglect of religion; no sacrifices, no auspices, no promise of victory from bird nor beast. Fearing to be surrounded by the Gauls, superior<sup>6</sup> in number, they thinned their centre (weakening it too much) in order to extend their wings and make their line of an equal length with that of the enemy; which, nevertheless, they did not effect. Wherefore, to defend their right flank (for their left was defended by the Tiber) they posted a body of reserve on a small hill, which stood on the right of their battalia. Brennus suspecting that these troops were to fall on his flank or rear, during the heat of the engagement, thought it expedient to begin by dislodging them from their post. While this was doing, a panic seized the main army of the Romans. Entire, un-attacked, and without striking a stroke, they turned their backs, and fled; so that not one soldier fell in battle; great numbers in the rout.

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dred eighty-  
nine.  
  
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Trib.

<sup>6</sup> Diodorus Siculus reports (B. 4.) that the Gauls were 70,000 strong. Plutarch says, the Roman army amounted to 40,000 men, and was equal in number to the Gauls.

Livy, Diod. Siculus, and Plutarch differ in some circumstances of this action, but agree in the main.

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The troops of the left wing threw themselves into the Tiber, where many were drowned; but the greater part, escaping both that danger and the darts of the pursuers, got safe to Veii; from whence they neither attempted to go home, nor even sent thither any advice of their defeat. The whole right wing made the best of their way to Rome, and, when they had entered the city, without stopping to shut the gates after them, fled for refuge into the citadel.

If the Gauls had closely pursued these terrified legions in their flight, nothing could have hindered the total extinction of the Roman name. But the conquerors, not imagining their victory to be so complete as it was, lost three days in banqueting and dividing the spoil; so that the Romans (who despaired of preserving the city) had time to secure the fortress of the capitol<sup>7</sup>. Provisions, arms, every thing necessary for defence, were with the utmost diligence conveyed into it. Thither the strength of the senate, and all the citizens, able to bear arms, retired, not excluding their wives and children from that asylum. As for the old men, not capable of either serving the public or shifting for themselves, it was thought the loss of them

<sup>7</sup> Thus writes Plutarch: Livy tells us, that the Gauls did march to Rome the very day of the victory, and arrived there before sunset; but finding the gates open and the walls without soldiers to defend them, astonishment, and the apprehension of some stratagem, to be executed by the Romans in the night, made Brennus encamp at a small distance from the town. Livy, B. 5. c. 39.



might be easily borne, seeing they were a generation, that, by the course of nature, must very soon go off the stage. And, in order to induce the multitude of superannuated men of the lower rank to acquiesce the more readily in their being left in the city to the mercy of the Gauls, some ancient consulars and victorious generals, who had been honoured with the triumph, declared publicly, that “they would die with them: these bodies, too weak to support the weight of arms, too weak to be employed in the defence of our country, ought not to be a burthen upon those who are armed for its preservation, and who may soon be distressed by a scarcity of provisions:” then, turning to the soldiery, and following them all the way to the citadel, pathetically recommended “to their bravery and youthful vigour the defence of what remained of a state, that for more than three hundred and sixty years had, in all its wars, been victorious.” But when the moment came that these venerable elders and the young men were to take a final leave of each other, deep was the distress which that scene exhibited; and it was made consummate by the weeping and lamentations of the women, distractedly running to and fro, from their husbands to their sons, from the sons to their husbands, asking now these, now those, “What shall we do?” irresolute, undetermined which to follow—whose fate to share.

A great number of the women, however, though not invited, followed their relations

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Three hun-  
dred eighty-  
nine.

Thirty-se-  
cond Mil.  
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into the citadel, nobody opposing it ; for how inconvenient soever the admitting them might prove, there was no avoiding that inconvenience without being inhuman. The remaining multitude (which consisted chiefly of the populace) too numerous to be lodged within a fortress that stood on so small a hill, or to be fed there, if it could have contained them, poured forth from the city in a mighty throng, passing over the bridge Sublicius to the Janiculum : from whence they dispersed themselves about the country, having neither leader to conduct them, nor any concerted scheme to follow.

In the meantime, the priest of Romulus and the vestals, after consulting together, agreed to hide, under ground, such of the holy things as they could not carry off ; which done, these likewise (bearing, as it is said, the sacred fire, and other important matters) made the best of their way to the Janiculum<sup>s</sup> ; and from thence

<sup>s</sup>Livy tells us, (B. 5. c. 40.) that one Albinus, a plebeian, who was conveying his wife and children in a cart, to some place of safety, observing the holy virgins, with their holy burthens, ascending the Janiculum on foot, thought it irreligious to let his family ride while the vestals walked ; and therefore, making his people alight, he put the priestesses, and their sacred cargoes, into the cart, and conducted them to Cære.

Here they met with a favourable reception, and because the vestals *remained* at Cære, and continued to perform the rites of religion there, those rites were thence called ceremonies from cære, and manere to remain. Val. Max. B. 5, c. 39.

they were conducted to Cære in Hetruria, where they continued to perform their accustomed religious rites and worship of the gods.

When the crowd of superannuated patriots had, by their advice and exhortations to the soldiers, done all that was in their power towards the defence of the capitol, they returned to their houses, there to wait, with steady resolution, the coming of the enemy, and death. Such of them, as had *triumphed* for victories, or had been curule magistrates, that they might die with the greater dignity, adorned themselves with the insignia of those honours which they had acquired by their virtue. Clothed in their triumphal robes, or in those of their magistracies, they repaired to the Forum<sup>9</sup>, and seating themselves there, in their curule chairs, maintained the same respectable air of greatness, as when in the fulness of their former power.

Some say, that the pontifex maximus pronounced over these ancients the form of words prescribed, in cases of self-devotement; which was a high point of religion and virtue among the Romans, they believing that the voluntary sacrifice which their leaders made of their own lives to the infernal gods brought confusion and destruction upon the enemy.

As the Gauls had met with little resistance from the Romans in the field, and were not put to the trouble of an assault to take the city, they entered it (at the gate Collina) with-

<sup>9</sup> Livy says, that they seated themselves in the porches or halls of their own houses.

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dred eighty-  
nine.

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dred eighty-  
nine.

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out any thing, in their appearance, of hostile anger, that raging flame kindled by opposition, difficulty, and danger. Moving on, they beheld, with amazement, the streets unpeopled as a desert ; and when they came to the Forum, and cast their eyes all around, they could observe no show of war but in the citadel alone. What chiefly drew and fixed their attention, was the company of venerable victims, who had *devoted* themselves to death. Their magnificent purple robes, their long white beards, their air of greatness, their silence, stillness, and serenity, all these astonished the Gauls, held them at an awful distance, and inspired them with the same respect which they would have had for so many gods. It chanced, however, that one of the soldiers (who was, probably, less apt to be religiously affected than his comrades) took the freedom gently to put his hand towards the beard of Manius Papirius, as if he meant to stroke it ; a familiarity which so offended the majestic figure, that with a smart blow of his ivory truncheon, he broke the fellow's head. There needed no more to put an end to all reverence for such a choleric deity. The Gaul instantly killed Papirius ; and as if, by this, he had given the signal for a general massacre, all the rest were now slain, sitting, like him, in state, in their curule chairs. After which, Brennus having properly posted a guard to prevent any attack, from the citadel, upon his men, when divided and dispersed about the city, these betook themselves to plunder and

destroy; they spared not a mortal, made no distinction of age or sex; and when they had rifled the houses, set some of them on fire.

The first day, no great execution was done upon the houses; which makes it doubted, whether the Gauls originally intended to destroy Rome totally, or whether, by letting the Romans see part of the city in flames, they meant to terrify them, and engage them to a surrender, by the hope of saving the remainder. Be that as it will, the garrison of the capitol were steady in their resolution not to yield; and the Gauls proceeded to lay all Rome level with the ground. Instead of a considerable city, nothing now was to be seen but a few little hills covered with ruins, and a wide waste, in which Brennus encamped his army, investing the citadel<sup>10</sup>. Once he attempted to scale the hill on which that stood; but without success: the Romans met their enemies in the midway of the ascent, and, having so great advantage of the ground, easily repulsed them; and the Gauls became sensible that they could never, by assault, possess themselves of the place. It was determined, therefore, that one

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<sup>10</sup> Livy, B. 5. 46. relates that one Fabius Dorso, being obliged on a certain day to perform a sacrifice to the tutelar gods of his family, and the hill Quirinalis being the only place where this sacrifice could regularly be performed, when the day came, he dressed himself like a sacrificer, came out of the capitol, carrying his gods with him; and that the Gauls, out of a regard to religion, suffered him to pass to the place appointed, and to return in safety to the citadel, after he had offered his sacrifice.

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dred eighty-  
nine.

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Trib.

part of the army should blockade it, while the other made incursions into the adjacent countries for provisions.

IV. FORTUNE conducted these foragers to the neighbourhood of Ardea, whither CAMILLUS, in his exile, had retired. This great man, less afflicted for his own misfortunes than for the calamities of his country, and watchful to seize every opportunity of serving her, received intelligence, that the Gauls, secure in the terror of their arms, preserved no order nor discipline in their marches: that they spent whole days in drinking: and that neither officer nor soldier dreamt of other enemies beside those who were blocked up in the capitol. Thus furnished with arguments, he addressed himself to the magistrates, and obtained their permission to lead out, against the common enemy, the youth of the city. These were very willing to follow him. He chose the dead of night for his expedition, and surprising the Gauls, unarmed and asleep, made a dreadful slaughter of them; and those that escaped under shelter of the night, fell next day into the hands of the peasants, who gave them no quarter.

The news of this action was quickly spread far and wide. It gave fresh courage to the Romans, who had taken refuge in Veii. These formed a pretty strong body: they had just cut off two parties of Hetrurian pillagers; and their strength was now increased by the coming of those soldiers who, after the defeat at the river Allia, had dispersed themselves about the country.



All in general looked upon Camillus as their last resource, and earnestly wished to have him for their leader. "He is no longer an exile. Rome is no more, we have now no country. Why must the Ardeates, who are strangers, acquire glory under the conduct of Camillus, while we, once his fellow-citizens, lie idle, and see our country possessed by the Gauls?" They presently sent deputies with an humble request to him to be their commander.

Camillus would not take the command<sup>11</sup> of the Romans upon him, without the approbation, first obtained, of the senate in the capitol. To learn the senate's pleasure was very difficult, the place being invested by the enemy. Nevertheless, a young man, named Pontius Cominius, undertook it. He put on a light habit, provided himself with cork, and in the beginning of the night threw himself into the Tiber above Rome. The stream carried him undiscovered to the foot of the capitoline hill; and at a very steep place, where the Gauls had placed no centinels, he mounted with difficulty to the citadel. Having made himself known to the guard, he was straight admitted into the place, and conducted to the magistrates. These, without delay, assembled the senate: the de-

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCLXIII.  
Bef. J. C.  
Three hun-  
dred eighty-  
nine.  
Thirty-se-  
cond Mil.  
Trib.

<sup>11</sup> Livy makes the people themselves have this scruple. Consensu omnium placuit, ab Ardea Camillum acciri; sed antea consulto senatu, qui Romæ esset, adeo regebat omnia pudor, discriminaque rerum prope perditis rebus servabant. B. 5. c. 46.

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCLXIII.  
Bef. J. C.  
Three hun-  
dred eighty-  
nine.

Thirty-se-  
cond Mil.  
Trib.

puty gave them an account of Camillus's victory, and, in the name of all the Romans at Veii, requested that they might have him for their general. Not much time was spent in debates: the senate decreed, "that Camillus should, by an act of the people, assembled by *curiæ*, be recalled from banishment, and, by the authority of the people, be immediately appointed DICTATOR." Pontius, with the same good fortune that had attended him in going to the capitol, got back to Veii, bearing this decree; and the Romans in *comitia curiata* joyfully made a LAW conformable to it.

Thus was Camillus from the state of banishment raised at once to be the sovereign magistrate of his country. On notice of the honour done him he repaired to Veii, and there quickly saw himself at the head of above forty thousand men, Romans and allies.

V. WHILE he was preparing to march against the enemy, the capitol had like to have been taken by surprise. Some Gallic soldiers having spied on the side of the hill the prints of Pontius's hands and feet, made their report of it to Brennus; who immediately conceived a hope of scaling the hill by the same way that the Roman had ascended. For the execution of this design, he chose out of his army such soldiers as had dwelt in mountainous countries, and been accustomed from their early youth to climb precipices. These, under cover of the night, climbed up from rock to rock, and with

much difficulty, and more danger, advanced by degrees, lending each other a hand, till they arrived at the foot of the wall.

They had got up so silently as not to be discovered by either man or dog: but they could not escape the vigilance of some geese, which being consecrated to Juno, had, notwithstanding the scarcity of provisions, been preserved alive. These creatures, naturally quick of hearing, and now more<sup>12</sup> wakeful than ordinary through hunger, (having been kept at short allowance) were alarmed at the first approach of the Gauls; so that running up and down, they, with their cackling and the beating of their wings, awaked the soldiers that lay near. M. Manlius, a consular person, was the first who starting up ran to defend the wall. Of two Gauls, whom he found on the top of it, he slashed off the hand of one, while aiming a blow at his head; and, almost at the same instant, with his buckler so strongly pushed back the other, that he fell from the rampart, and in his fall overthrew all those who were behind him. And now, some of the garrison coming to the aid of Manlius, he easily repelled the rest of the assailants, and drove them headlong down the precipice.

The besieged, after their escape, passed the remainder of the night in as much tranquillity

<sup>12</sup> The learned and judicious Monsieur Dacier is much discontented with this philosophical conceit of Plutarch's, and is of opinion, that a goose, how well soever fed, will always be very wakeful.

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCLXIII.  
Bef. J. C.  
Three hun-  
dred eighty-  
nine.

Thirty-se-  
cond Mil-  
Trib.



Year of  
R O M E  
CCCLXIII.  
Bef. J. C.  
Three hun-  
dred eighty-  
nine.

Thirty-se-  
cond Mil.  
Trib.

as men could do, whose minds had been alarmed and agitated by so great a danger. In the morning, at day-break, the military tribunes, by sound of trumpet, called the soldiers together in order to dispense rewards and punishments. First of all Manlius was praised for his gallant behaviour, and had presents, not only from the magistrates, but from all the soldiers; each of whom carried to his house, which stood in the citadel, half a pound of meal, and a small measure of wine, which he spared out of his short allowance: a reward<sup>13</sup> considerable only as it was a proof, in the present scarcity of provisions, of the real affection of the givers.

After this, the centinels, through whose neglect of duty the Gauls had been able to mount, undiscovered, to the rampart of the citadel, were cited to appear. The military tribune, Sulpitius, declared that he would punish them all, according to the laws of war; but finding that the soldiers disapproved of this measure, and unanimously and loudly concurred in laying all the blame on one centinel, he thought it not safe to meddle with the rest. The man, uni-

<sup>13</sup> The Romans extended their rewards and punishments even to the geese and dogs. The former were ever after held in honour at Rome, and a flock of them was always kept at the public expense. A golden image of a goose was set up in memory of their service; and a goose was every year carried in triumph on a soft litter finely adorned; whilst those dumb guards the dogs were held in abhorrence by the Romans, who every year impaled one of them alive on a branch of elder. Plin. & Plut. de fort. Rom. C. & R.

versally condemned, was thrown headlong from the rock.

But now famine began to oppress both parties equally. Camillus, since his nomination to the dictātorship, had possessed himself of all the roads. The Gauls durst not stir out to forage; so that the besiegers were themselves besieged, and suffered the same inconveniences that they made the Romans undergo. A contagious distemper also prevailed in the army of the Gauls, occasioned by the great heats, to which they were not accustomed.

VI. AT length the distress on both sides occasioned a truce and a parley. Brennus having intimated, that he would raise the siege (which had now lasted seven months) on the Romans paying an inconsiderable ransom; and the soldiers in the capitol having signified to their commanders, that they could no longer support the fatigue of continual watching, and the misery of famine<sup>14</sup>, and must therefore either

Lactantius (B. 20.) tells us a strange story of the Romans being admonished and directed in a dream, by Jupiter, tutelary god of the capitol, to make all the corn they had into bread, and throw it into Brennus's camp, not reserving the least morsel of it for their necessities: and that the Gauls being hereby deceived, and despairing to reduce the Romans by famine, raised the siege. In memory of the god's favour, the Romans erected an altar to him, under the name of Jupiter Pistor, Jupiter the Baker. Ovid seems to countenance this story, Fast. B. 6.

Posse fame vinci spes excidit, hoste repulso,  
Discam Pistoris quid velit ara Jovis.

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCLXIII.  
Bef. J. C.  
Three hun-  
dred eighty  
nine.

Thirty-se-  
cond Mil.  
Trib.

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCLXIII.  
Bef. J. C.  
Three hun-  
dred eighty-  
nine.

Thirty-se-  
cond Mil.  
Trib.

\* About  
45,000*l.*  
sterling.

† Væ victis.

surrender or redeem themselves, the senate commissioned Sulpitius to treat with the enemy. A thousand pound weight\* of gold was the ransom agreed upon; the price of a people who were one day to be lords of the world. The Gauls brought false weights; to which, when Sulpitius objected to them, the king insultingly added his sword, which he threw into the scale, giving no other reason, but “Woe to the vanquished†!” The Romans not being in a condition to resent this affront, and wisely considering, that the chief indignity they suffered was not in paying more than they had agreed to, but in paying any thing, were just on the point of finishing the affair, when on a sudden appeared Camillus with his forces at the place of conference. [How he made his way thither unperceived, it is hard to guess.] Instantly he commanded the gold to be taken away, and the Gauls to depart: “It is with iron, not with gold, that the Romans are wont to defend their country.” In vain did Brennus represent to him, that he contravened a treaty, actually concluded. Camillus replied, that he being dictator, no treaty made without his approbation could be valid; and he warned the king to prepare for battle. The Gauls were now routed with as much ease as they had defeated

both Livy and Florus mention the throwing of loaves of bread from the capitol, in order to deceive; but they both ascribe the driving away of the Gauls to Camillus. C. & R.



the Romans at the river Allia; and Camillus the next morning in a second engagement with them on the Gabinian way, eight miles from Rome, so totally vanquished and destroyed them, that not a man was left to carry home the news of their disaster. The dictator returned in triumph to the city, and the soldiers in their songs styled him ROMULUS, FATHER OF HIS COUNTRY, AND SECOND FOUNDER OF ROME.

VII. CAMILLUS, who had thus <sup>15</sup> saved his

<sup>15</sup> That Camillus thus saved his country, as Livy and Plutarch report, is undoubtedly fabulous: though neither M. Vertot, nor the Jesuits, take notice of any objection there is against giving credit to the story. M. Rollin indeed observes (Hist. Rom. Tom. 2. p. 348.) that Polybius (B. 2. c. 18.), silent concerning the double defeat of the Gauls by Camillus, imputes their retreat from Rome to "their being called home to defend their own country against the Veneti who had invaded it:" yet M. Rollin seems to think that the other account may nevertheless be true; for he adds, "It ought to be remarked, that Polybius does not enter into the particulars of this *grande action*, but confines himself to the giving a general idea of it." But Polybius, in the passage referred to, tells us, that the Gauls did return home, and had afterwards quarrels among themselves; consequently they were not put to the sword by Camillus. And the same historian (B. 1. c. 6.) asserts, that the Romans [in the capitol] made a convention with the Gauls, upon the terms which the latter thought fit to prescribe. And in B. 2. c. 22. he represents some Gallic ambassadors encouraging two kings of the Gēsatae, to join the Gauls in a war against Rome, by this consideration, "That the Gauls had formerly vanquished the Romans in battle, taken their city, held it seven months, and then restored it to them voluntarily, and out of mere generosity, [ἰθελονὶ καὶ μετὰ χάρις] returning safe home enriched with spoil."

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCLXIII.  
Bet. J. C.  
Three hundred eighty-nine.

Thirty-second Mil.  
Trib.

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCLXIII.  
Bef. J. C.  
Three hun-  
dred eighty-  
nine.

Thirty-se-  
cond Mil.  
Trib.

country in war, may be said to have preserved it a second time, when in peace, by hindering the people from removing to Veii; a project which was now renewed with more warmth than ever.

The houses of Rome being all demolished, and the walls razed, a heartless despondency seized the multitude; they were extremely backward to set about rebuilding; and the rather, as Veii offered them a place fortified by art and nature, good houses ready built, a wholesome air, and a fruitful territory. They said, “they were but just escaped, as it were, quite naked from shipwreck, exhausted by misfortunes, without strength and without materials for rebuilding a whole city, of which nothing was left but the ruins.” Nor did there want declaimers to throw out hard words against Camillus, as if, from vainglory and the ambition of being esteemed a second Romulus, a new founder of Rome, he opposed a design of such great and general advantage.

On the other hand, the senate, resolutely determined against removing to Veii, would not suffer Camillus to quit the dictatorship, after his triumph, and the expiration of his six months.

The pretended generosity of the Gauls is a flourish of the ambassadors, who are introduced speaking; but the other facts agree with what is said by Polybius himself, in the before-cited passages; so that it is evident, this unbiassed historian did not believe one word of Camillus's marvellous exploits against Brennus. See likewise Sueton. Vit. Tib. c. 3. Justin. L. 38. c. 4. Dion. Sic. L. 4.

They earnestly entreated him not to leave the commonwealth in an unsettled state. The dictator complied with the desire of the fathers. And now, as he was ever most egregiously devout, the first business to which he gave his attention was what concerned the worship of the gods. He obtained a decree of the senate, "For purifying all those temples and sanctuaries which had been profaned by being in the enemy's possession; and for consulting the duumvirs, who had the care of the Sibylline books, about the proper manner of purification.

"For making a league of hospitality with the Cærites, who had so kindly entertained the Roman priests and the vestals.

"For celebrating the capitoline games in honour of Jupiter, who had defended the place of his residence, and the citadel of Rome; and for empowering the dictator to constitute a college of persons, chosen from among the inhabitants of the capitol and citadel, to superintend that affair."

Mention too was made of expiations for having neglected the miraculous voice (heard in the night) which gave warning of the approach of the Gauls; and a temple ordered to be erected to the kind monitor, (whoever he was) under the name of Aius Locutius.

It was likewise decreed, that the gold which had been rescued out of the hands of the Gauls, and what other gold had in the midst of danger and confusion been taken out of various sanctu-

Year of  
R O M E.  
CCCLXIII.  
Bef. J. C.  
Three hundred eighty-nine.

Thirty-second Mil.  
Trib.



Year of  
B O M E  
CCCLXIII.  
Bef. J. C.  
Three-hun-  
dred eighty-  
nine.

Thirty-se-  
cond Mil.  
Trib.

Livy, B. 5.  
c. 55.  
Plut. p. 145.

aries and brought into that of Jupiter, should, inasmuch as it could not be distinctly remembered from whence and from whom the several parts of the treasure came, be all deemed sacred, and deposited under the pedestal of Jupiter's statue.

All these pious regulations did not divert the tribunes of the commons from continually exhorting the multitude to leave Rome, that was nothing but a heap of ruins, and remove to the fair city of Veii. Camillus, therefore, attended by the whole senate, repaired to the Forum, and made a most elaborate speech<sup>16</sup> to the people there assembled. His chief arguments were addressed to their superstition. Could they find in their hearts to forsake Jupiter, Vesta, Mars, and father Romulus? [as if Jupiter and Vesta and Mars and Romulus, if spoken civilly to, would not have removed from Rome to Veii, as readily, and in as good humour, as Juno came

<sup>16</sup> Camillus, in this speech, insists much on the constant experience which the Romans had of prosperous or adverse fortune, according to their observance or neglect of religious duties. And he mentions some rites of religion, the performance of which was confined to certain places in Rome, and could not be transferred elsewhere. This may have been true of some rites. But when our historian makes CAMILLUS ask—"Where can the COMITIA CURIATA, for military affairs, be AUSPICIOUSLY held but in the usual place?" Shall we transfer them to Veii?"—he seems to have forgot, that, by his own account, CAMILLUS had been recalled from banishment, and appointed to the dignity he then held, by the people in *comitia curiata*, held at VEII: and this in conformity to a decree of the senate. Liv. B. 5. c. 46.

from Veii to Rome.] It is said, that his discourse made a considerable impression on the multitude; but that what determined them absolutely not to remove, was a chance word seasonably spoken. For shortly after, the senate being assembled, in the *curia hostilia*, to deliberate on this important affair, just as L. Lucretius (the first called upon to give his opinion) was going to speak, a centurion, who (as Plutarch relates it) came with his company to relieve the guard, was distinctly heard to say, "Ensign, plant your colours, THIS IS THE BEST PLACE TO STAY IN\*." Instantly Lucretius and all the senators ran out of the temple, crying aloud, "A happy omen! the gods<sup>17</sup> have spoken, and we obey." The multitude universally approved the notion<sup>18</sup>: all doubt was now at an end: no more any mention of Veii: "ROME for ever."

An interregnum followed the dictatorship of Camillus: for the Romans would not suffer the military tribunes, during whose magistracy the city had been taken, to hold the *comitia* for electing new magistrates. And no sooner was Q. Fabius<sup>19</sup> out of office, than C.

<sup>17</sup> M. Dacier, on this occasion, observes, that Cicero held it to be direct atheism, to despise or laugh at such omens. Cic. de Divin. lib. 1.

<sup>18</sup> What the centurion said, if really spoken by chance, or believed so to be, furnished a reason of the same kind with some of those which Camillus had employed in the long harangue, given him by Livy; and was as good a reason as any of his, for not removing from Rome.

<sup>19</sup> By this passage of Livy it would seem, that the same

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCLXIII.  
Bef. J. C.  
Three hundred eighty-  
nine.

Thirty-se-  
cond Mil.  
Trib.

\* Hic ma-  
nebinus op-  
timè.

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCLXIV.  
Bef. J. C.  
Three hundred eighty-  
eight.

Thirty-se-  
cond Mil.  
Trib.

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCLXIV.  
Bef. J. C.  
Three hun-  
dred eighty-  
eight.

Thirty-se-  
cond Mil.  
Trib.

Marcus, one of the tribunes of the commons, summoned him to answer for his conduct (of which the consequence had been so fatal) when ambassador to the Gauls. Sudden death, supposed to be voluntary, freed him from this prosecution.

Camillus and P. Cornelius Scipio performed the office of *interrex*, by turns, for a few days. It fell to the former to preside at the election of military tribunes.

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCLXV.  
Bef. J. C.  
Three hun-  
dred eighty-  
seven.

Thirty-  
third Mil.  
Trib.  
Livy, B. 6.  
c. 1.

VIII. THE six new magistrates were L. Valerius Poplicola, L. Virginus Tricostus, P. Cornelius Cossus, A. Manlius Capitolinus, L. Æmilius Mamercinus, and L. Posthumus Albinus.

Their first care (after consulting the senate) was to collect the treaties with foreign states, and what remains could be found of the laws of the kings, and of the twelve tables, which had been written on brass, and fixed up in the Forum. Some of these were communicated to the public; but of such as related to religious worship, the pontifices made themselves the depositories, that they might likewise be the interpreters of them, and occasionally make them serve as a means to keep the populace in reverence and subjection. In making a list of

military tribunes who commanded the army against the Gauls at the battle of the Allia, were still in office, when Camillus laid down the dictatorship; and if so, either they must have held their magistracy two years, or Camillus cannot have held the dictatorship so long as he is represented by the Capitoline Marbles to have done; *i. e.* part of the year 363, and all 364.



lucky and unlucky days, the fifteenth of the calends of August (*i. e.* the eighteenth of July) was particularly marked among the latter, as memorable for two unfortunate battles; that in which the 300 Fabii were slain near the Cremera, and that wherein the Romans were defeated by the Gauls upon the banks of the Allia; no sacrifices were to be offered, no business done in the courts of justice, no new expedition begun on this day; and so of several others.

And now the care of all was the rebuilding of the city<sup>20</sup>. The state furnished tiles, and the people were allowed to take stone and other materials wherever they could find them, giving security to finish their houses within the year. The hurry in which they went to work, made them heedless whether the ground they built on was their own or their neighbours; each raised his house where he found an empty space, so that the common sewers, which before ran under the streets, ran now under the houses. And so little taste had they for order and beauty, that the city, when rebuilt, was even less regular than in the time of Romulus: and though in Augustus's time, when Rome was become the capital of the world, the temples, palaces, and private houses, were more magnificent than before, yet these decorations could not rectify the fault of the plan.

<sup>20</sup> Plutarch (in Camillo, p. 145) tells us, that among the ruins of the city, and under a heap of ashes, was found Romulus's augural staff unburnt; and that this was looked upon to portend the everlasting preservation and prosperity of the Roman state.

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCLXV.  
Bef. J. C.  
Three hundred eighty-seven.

Thirty-third Mil. Trib.

Livy, B. 6.

POSTED BY: 2/1/2008

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THE  
ROMAN HISTORY.

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BOOK III.

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From the year of ROME 365, when the CITY WAS REBUILT, after the burning of it by the GAULS, to the year 489, when the ROMANS, having subdued ALL ITALY, began the first PUNIC or CARTHAGINIAN WAR.

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CHAP. I.

I. *The Hetrurians, Æqui, Volsci, Latines, and Hernici, all the nations bordering upon the Roman state, combine to take advantage of its weak condition. CAMILLUS, appointed now the third time to the dictatorship, raises a numerous army, which he divides in several bodies for different services. He marches in person, with one part of the troops, against the Volsci, forces their camp, and subdues that people: after which he takes the capital city of the Æqui, and recovers Sutrium from the Hetrurians.* II. *The next year (when the commonwealth is again governed by military tribunes) the Roman arms prosper abroad. The year following is a year of peace. Four new tribes are added to the twenty-one.* III. *The expectation of a new war makes the Romans choose Camillus to be one of the six military tribunes for the next year. He leads the Roman troops first against the Volsci of Antium, and then against the Hetrurians; and has success in both expeditions. The Latines and Hernici submit.*



Year of  
R O M E  
CCCLXV.  
Bef. J. C.  
Three hun-  
dred eighty-  
seven.

Thirty-  
third Mil.  
Trib.

Livy, B. 6.  
c. 2.

Plut. Life of  
Camillus,  
p. 145, 146.  
Livy, B. 6.  
c. 2.

I. ROME, arising as it were out of her own ashes, appeared once more a city. But scarce did her citizens begin to take breath, when new wars called them again into the field. The Hetrurians, the Æqui, and the Volsci, all near neighbours of Rome, and of course her enemies, made a league to oppress her before she had recovered her strength. Nay the Latines and Hernici, who had long been allies of the Roman people, engaged in this design. The Romans seem to have lost their empire when the seat of it was destroyed, and to have had most of the same conquests to repeat, as after the expulsion of Tarquin the proud, and the first establishment of the commonwealth.

In this distressful situation the republic had recourse to a general, always superior to dangers and difficulties. Camillus was a third time named dictator. Immediately he summoned the citizens to take arms, without excepting even the old men. He divided the new levies into three bodies, caused one of them to encamp under the walls of Rome, appointing A. Manlius to command it: the second he ordered into the neighbourhood of Veii, under the conduct of L. Æmilius, to watch the motions of the Hetrurians: and he led the third himself against the Volsci. His very name, and the report of his march, filled the enemy with terror; they now thought no more of conquest; their whole study was how to avoid being conquered; they shut themselves up in

their camp, which they fortified with a strong palisade of stakes, and a barricade of trees. Camillus having observed the nature of their fortification, caused his soldiers to throw fire in great quantity against it. The fire, made fiercer by a brisk wind, that chanced to rise, and blow the flame and smoke full upon the camp, presently destroyed the wooden fence, and put the soldiers into such a consternation, that they rushed out in crowds, and fell into the hands of the Romans, who made a terrible slaughter of them. Camillus then sent to extinguish the flames, in order to save the booty, with which (as he had taken the camp by assault) he rewarded his army; a bounty so much the more agreeable, because unexpected from the dictator, who had never been known to be over liberal on these occasions. Pursuing the routed enemy in their flight, he ravaged the whole country of the Volsci, and at length entirely subdued that untractable people, after they had harassed the republic with continual hostilities for more than one hundred and seven years<sup>1</sup>. From the Volsci he next turned his forces against the Æqui, and by assault made himself master, not only of their camp, but of

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCLXV.  
Bef. J. C.  
Three hun-  
dred eighty-  
seven.

Thirty-  
third Mil.  
Trib.

<sup>1</sup> So the critics say we should read, instead of seventy, as it is in Livy, there being from the year 258, when the war was renewed against the Volsci, in the consulate of Ap. Claudius and P. Servilius to this time one hundred and seven years. We find that Tarquin the proud made war with the Volsci. And we shall find presently, that *all* the Volsci were not now subdued.

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCLXV.  
Bef. J. C.  
Three hun-  
dred eighty-  
seven.

Thirty-  
third Mil.  
Trib.

Livy, B. 6.  
c. 3.

Plut. Life of  
Camillus,  
p. 145, 146.

their principal city, Bola. In the meantime almost all Hetruria had taken arms, and was now engaged in the siege of Sutrium, a town in alliance with Rome. Camillus, by order of the senate, marched to its relief. The place had capitulated before he came, and the inhabitants had obtained nothing but their lives and the clothes on their backs. In this destitute condition they were going to seek new habitations, when Camillus met them, bade the women dry up their tears, and promised to transfer their sorrows to the enemy. His promise he performed: for the Heturians, secure after their victory, and wholly employed in plundering, had left the gates of Sutrium open, and without guards. He came upon them by surprise, slew many, and made an incredible number prisoners. The Sutrini, before night, found themselves again in possession of their city, which had been thus twice taken in one day.

Livy, B. 6.  
c. 4.

This expedition ended, the great Camillus, victorious in three wars, in one and the same year, entered Rome triumphant.

With part of the money raised by selling the Hetrurian captives (after they had been led before his chariot) the Roman ladies were paid the value of the jewels they had formerly lent to the state: and with the remainder the senate bought three vases of gold, which, with Camillus's name inscribed on them, they placed at the feet of Juno in the temple of Jupiter.



II. UNDER the six new military tribunes<sup>2</sup> of the following year affairs prospered abroad: they ravaged the country of the Æqui, and took two cities, Cortuosa and Contenebra, from the Heturians.

The Romans being at this time in a humour for building, the capitol was now rebuilt (or repaired) with square stone, and with so happy an execution, as to be thought worthy of admiration, even in the reign of Augustus.

While the people were busied in this sort of works public and private, the tribunes of the commons endeavoured to revive the old quarrel about the *division of the conquered lands*, on occasion of the Pomptin territory, for which the Romans and Volsci had long struggled, and which, after the republic had got possession of it, the patricians had appropriated to themselves. But the time was ill chosen for making a bustle about this affair, because the minds of the commons were so intent on building, that they did not much frequent the Forum; and, besides, they were almost quite drained of their money, and had not enough left for the expense of cultivating new farms, and stocking them with cattle. They took little notice therefore of the harangues of their tribunes.

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCLXVI.  
Bef. J. C.  
Three hundred eighty-six.

Thirty-fourth Mil. Trib.

Livy, B. 6.  
c. 5.

<sup>2</sup> T. QUINCTIUS,

L. SERVILIUS, a fifth time,

L. JULIUS,

L. AQUILIUS,

L. LUCRETIVS,

SER. SULPICIVS.

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCLXVII.  
Bef. J. C.  
Three hun-  
dred eighty-  
five.

Thirty-fifth.  
Mil. Trib.

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCLXVIII.  
Bef. J. C.  
Three hun-  
dred eighty-  
four.

Thirty-  
sixth Mil.  
Trib.

\* A fourth  
time.  
† A second  
time.  
‡ A sixth  
time.  
Livy, B. 6.  
c. 6.

§ i. e. The  
Volsci of  
Antium.

The military tribunes for this year, upon some scruple concerning the validity of their election, voluntarily laid down their offices, and, after a short interregnum, six new ones<sup>3</sup> were chosen; whose year, being a year of peace, was spent in works of peace. To the twenty-one tribes were added four new ones, Stellatina, Tromentina, Sabatina, and Arniensis.

III. THE expectation of a war induced the centuries to choose Camillus\* to be one of the military tribunes for the next year. They gave him, for his colleagues, Ser. Cornelius†, Q. Servilius‡, L. Quinctius, L. Horatius, and P. Valerius, all men of moderation, who knew how to do themselves and Camillus justice. In full senate they transferred their authority into his hands, and left to him the sole management of the war, so that he was in effect dictator. The republic had designed to turn her arms against the Hetrurians; but this design was altered upon the news, that the Antiates§ had entered the Pomptin territory in arms, and obliged the Romans, who had taken possession of it, to quit it. Camillus allotted to each of his colleagues an employment suitable to his rank, and joined Valerius with himself in the command of the army which was to march

<sup>3</sup> L. PAPIRIUS,

C. SERGIUS,

L. ÆMILIUS, a second time,

L. MENENIUS,

L. VALERIUS, a third time,

C. CORNELIUS.

against the Antiates; but Valerius refused to be upon an equal foot with Camillus: "No," said he, "you shall be my dictator, and I will serve under you as your general of the horse." The Latines and Hernici had joined the Antiates near Satricum: so that the Roman soldiers, when they came within sight of the enemy, were terrified at their numbers, which Camillus understanding, mounted his horse, rode through the ranks, put his men in mind, that these were the same Latines and Volsci whom they had so often vanquished, and that he was the same Camillus who had led them so often to victory. He then dismounted, took the next standard-bearer by the hand, and led him towards the enemy, crying out at the same time, "Soldiers, advance." A battle ensued, in which the enemy were entirely overthrown. The Latines and Hernici separated from the Volsci, and returned home. The Volsci fled for refuge to Satricum: Camillus came before it, and carried it by assault. He then left his army under the command of Valerius, and returned to Rome, to solicit the senate's consent, and get things necessary for undertaking the siege of Antium. While he was proposing this affair to the conscript fathers, deputies arrived from Nepete and Sutrium (cities in alliance with Rome, and that were, in a manner, its bulwark, as well as the keys of Hetruria) demanding succours against the Hetrurians. The senate ordered Camillus to their relief, and assigned him those troops which Servilius had

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCLXVIII.  
Bef. J. C.  
Three hun-  
dred eighty-  
four.

Thirty-  
sixth Mil.  
Trib.

Livy, B. 6.  
c. 7.

c. 8.



Year of  
R O M E  
CCCLXVIII.  
Ref. J. C.  
Three hun-  
dred eighty-  
four.

Thirty-  
sixth Mil.  
Trib.

Livy, B. 6.  
c. 10.

commanded in Rome, and kept in readiness in case of an exigence. He marched, came before Sutrium, found it almost taken, and preserved it. Nepete had surrendered voluntarily to the Hetrurians, the greater part of the inhabitants being better affected to them than to the Romans. The recovery of this place seemed therefore a work of greater difficulty. However, he took it at the first assault, and having put the garrison to the sword, condemned the authors of the revolt to die by the axes of the lictors.

Camillus, before the end of this year, called the Latines and Hernici to account for their late conduct. The magistrates of those nations alleged, that the reason of their not aiding the Romans was the necessity they had been under to keep their troops at home to defend their own country; and that as to the assistance which some of their people had given to the enemies of Rome, they had done it without authority, and had been punished for their fault; not one of them having returned safe home. These excuses were not satisfactory, but the senate readily admitted them, being unwilling at this juncture to multiply the enemies of the commonwealth.

## CHAP. II.

I. *M. Manlius (who saved the capitol) uses such methods to make himself popular, as alarm the senate. They name a dictator, who commits him to prison, and presently after resigns his office. The senate, fearing the rage of the people, who are devoted to Manlius, set him at liberty. II. Camillus is chosen one of the military tribunes for the next year. Two of the tribunes of the commons impeach Manlius of treason, and, by sentence of the people, he is thrown headlong from the Tarpeian rock.*

I. IN the following magistracy of six military tribunes<sup>1</sup>, a dangerous war abroad, and a more dangerous sedition at home, distressed the republic. The Volsci, joined by the Latines and Hernici, who had revolted from Rome, commenced the war; the sedition had for its author a Roman of high birth, consummate bravery, and illustrious fame. Marcus Manlius, (who saved the capitol) though he had pride enough to despise all the other great men of Rome, yet envied one: he could not bear to see Camillus so distinguished, as if he alone were fit for the supreme magistracy and the command of the army. "This exalted man looks down upon his colleagues, as his ministers, forgetting

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCLXIX.  
Bef. J. C.  
Three hundred eighty-three.

Thirty-seventh Mil.  
Trib.

Livy, B. 6.  
c. 11.  
Plut. in Camillus,  
p. 149.

- <sup>1</sup> A. MANLIUS, a second time,
- P. CORNELIUS, a second time,
- T. QUINCTIUS,
- L. QUINCTIUS,
- L. PAPIRIUS, a second time,
- C. SERGIUS, a second time.

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCLXIX.  
Bef. J. C.  
Three hun-  
dred eighty-  
three.

Thirty-se-  
venth Mil.  
Trib.

that he and they were elected under the same auspices. What ground for all this arrogance? Could he have recovered Rome, if I had not first saved the capitol? He came by surprise upon the Gauls, when employed in receiving the gold, and secure in the treaty of peace; I had to do with men armed, and just upon the point of taking the citadel: every soldier of his army had a share in the glory of his exploit; but I had no companion in my victory."

It is said, that Manlius by such speeches gave vent to his envy; and that not finding his merit prized by the nobles suitably to his own idea of it, forsook that party, concerted measures with the tribunes of the commons, and set himself to court the multitude. Not content with renewing the proposal for *distributing the conquered lands*, he made himself the advocate and protector of such plebeians as were oppressed with debt. Nothing could be more popular at this time than a warm concern expressed for insolvent debtors; because most of the lower people had been forced to borrow money, to rebuild their houses. The senate, alarmed at the proceedings of Manlius, thought it necessary to create a dictator, who, by his absolute power, might be able to crush the rising faction; and the war with the Volsci (now strengthened by the Latines and Hernici) furnished a plausible pretence for this creation. The dictatorship was given to A. Cornelius Cossus, who named T. Quinctius Capitolinus to be general of the horse.



CORNELIUS, though he saw he should have greater difficulties to struggle with at home than abroad; yet, whether it were, that the business of the war was more than ordinarily urgent, or whether he thought that a victory in the field would add weight to his authority of dictator, when he should have need to exert it in the city, he made his levies with all expedition, marched away, and came to a battle with the Volsci, in the Pomptin territory. Before the action began, he told his men, that the omens were so favourable as to leave no room to doubt of success. He bade them lay their javelins down at their feet, keep together in close order, and without stirring sustain the enemy's first charge; in whose eyes, when they advanced in disorder, (after spending their darts in vain) they should make their swords glitter, and every man call to mind that there were gods who fought for the Romans. He directed Quinctius to restrain the ardour of his cavalry, till the infantry were engaged in fierce conflict, and then to fall on. Both horse and foot observed his injunctions; and the Volsci, though much more numerous than the Romans, yet not being so well conducted, suffered a total defeat. Among the prisoners were found many considerable men of the Latines and Hernici, who, being examined, confessed they had acted by authority, so that it was no longer a doubt whether those two nations had revolted. The dictator hereupon kept his army in the field, believing assuredly that he should be di-

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCLXIX.  
Bef. J. C.  
Three hun-  
dred eighty-  
three.  
Thirty-se-  
venth Mil.  
Trib.

Livy, B. 6.  
c. 12.

c. 13.

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCLXIX.  
Bef. J. C.  
Three hun-  
dred eighty-  
three.

~  
Thirty-se-  
venth Mil.  
Trib.

Livy, B. 6.  
c. 14.

rected to carry the war into their countries; but a more pressing affair obliged the senate to send for him home. For Manlius, not by invective speeches only, but by deeds of an exemplary generosity, had raised against the nobles, guilty of excessive usury, such a spirit of anger in the commons, as seemed not easy to be laid. One day seeing a centurion, who had distinguished himself by many gallant exploits in war, and whom, his person being taken in execution of a judgment upon an action of debt, they were carrying through the Forum to the creditor's prison, he ran hastily, attended by a numerous company of his clients and other followers, and, laying fast hold of the debtor,—“Oh the pride of these patricians! the cruelty of these usurers!—so brave a man! so unsuitable a fortune!—In vain did this right hand preserve the capitol, if I am to behold my fellow-citizen, my fellow-soldier, just as if he had fallen into the hands of the victorious Gauls, a wretched captive carried into slavery.” Then in the presence of all the people he freed the debtor, by paying, in legal form, the whole debt to the creditor. The centurion called upon gods and men to reward his generous benefactor, “The father of the commons of Rome!” and being now admitted into the tumultuous train, he contributed not a little to increase the tumult. Showing the scars of the wounds he had received in the Veientan, Gallic, and other wars—“I was forced to borrow money for the expense of attending the

service, and to rebuild my house. The amount of the principal I have paid over and over again in interest; interest so heavy and oppressive that I could never emerge out of debt; it was usurious extortion that overwhelmed me. That I now partake of the common light, that I am permitted to see the Forum, the faces of my fellow-citizens, these are the pure effects of Marcus Manlius's bounty. From him I have received all the benefits that a son can receive from a parent; and to him therefore I devote my body, my life, all that remains unspilt of my blood. Whatever ties I have to my country, to the gods of my country, to my household gods, those same ties fasten me inviolably to *that one man*." Both the nobleness of the act, and the effusion of praise and gratitude from the person obliged, made so strong an impression on the multitude, that they were already disposed to attach themselves, like the centurion, to *that one man*, when he did another thing, which was still better imagined, to turn their heads quite, and to throw all things into confusion? Having, in the territory of Veii, a farm, the chief part of his estate, he caused the public crier to notify the sale of it.—“No, Romans, whilst I have any thing left, I will never suffer, that any one of you be cast into the

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCLXIX.  
Bef. J. C.  
Three hundred eighty-three.

Thirty-seventh Mil.  
Trib.

2 — addita alia commotionis ad omnia turbanda consilii res. Fundum in Veienti, caput patrimonii, subjecit præconi: ne quem vestrum, inquit, Quirites, donec quicquam in re mea supererit, judicatum, addictumque duci patiar. c. 14.



Year of  
R O M E  
CCCLXIX.  
Bef. J. C.  
Three hun-  
dred eighty-  
three.

Thirty-se-  
venth Mil.  
Trib.

prison of his creditor." Nor did he stop here in his endeavours to make himself popular, and to alienate entirely the hearts of the commons from the senate. In assemblies which he held in his own house (in the citadel) he confidently gave out, that the senators, not content with being the sole possessors of those lands, which ought to have been divided equally among all the citizens, had concealed, with an intent to appropriate it to their own use, the gold which was to have been given to the Gauls, and which had been raised by the voluntary contributions of all the citizens who were then in the capitol; a treasure which alone would be sufficient to discharge all the debts of the poor plebeians. And he promised to show them, in due time, where this treasure was hid. So pleasing a prospect, as that of every man's having his debts discharged, took up all the attention of the people; their whole care was to draw those riches out of the hands of the patricians.

Livy, B. 6.  
c. 15.

Things were in this situation when the dictator returned to the city. Having agreed with the senate upon the measures to be taken, he went to the Forum, accompanied by the fathers, and a great number of other patricians, ascended his tribunal, and sent a lictor to cite Manlius to appear before him. Manlius did not disobey the summons, but making all his adherents follow him, he approached the tribunal with so numerous a guard, that the assembly looked like two armies ready to join battle. Silence being made, the dictator spoke

thus : “ I heartily wish, Manlius, that I and the senate could in every thing agree with the commons of Rome, as readily as I trust we shall do in what concerns you, and the matter I am going to question you upon. You have been heard to say, that some of the principal senators have secreted the gold that was designed for the Gauls, and that this fund alone would be sufficient to discharge all the debts. I am so far from desiring to hinder such an extraordinary benefit to the commons, that I exhort you earnestly to ease them of that burden of usury they labour under, and to name the men who have stolen and concealed this important treasure. But if you do not instantly name those robbers of the public, be assured that I shall without delay send you to prison, as an incendiary and a slanderer ; for I will not suffer you any longer to deceive the people with vain hopes.”

Manlius answered, “ I find I was not mistaken in my opinion, that the dictator was created, not to act against the Volsci, but against me and the commons of Rome. He openly espouses the cause of the usurers, and I am to be destroyed on account of the affection which the people bear me. Does it indeed offend you, Cornelius, and you, conscript fathers, to see the crowds that attend me ? Why do not you endeavour to share their affection with me ? Why do not you relieve the poor citizens, who are quite sunk and overwhelmed with debt ? Pay for some, answer for others,

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCLXIX.  
Bef. J. C.  
Three hun-  
dred eighty-  
three.

Thirty-se-  
venth Mil.  
Trib.

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCLXIX.  
Bef. J. C.  
Three hun-  
dred eighty-  
three.

Thirty-se-  
venth Mil.  
Trib.

supply their necessities out of your superfluities: nay, without bestowing any thing upon them of what you possess, do but deduct from the principal sums what you have received for interest: You will then see, that my train of followers will be no greater than any of yours. —But why is Manlius (say you) the only man who thus concerns himself for the citizens? You may ask me too, why I was the only man who saved the capitol? As I then exerted myself for all in general, so now I am ready to give my help to every Roman in particular. As to the secreted treasure, you put a question to me which you can better answer yourselves. The very demand makes that difficult, which would otherwise have been easy. The more you press me to declare the place where the gold is hoarded, the more reason I have to believe that you have removed it, and hid it beyond the reach of the most curious inquiry. Am I to reveal where your thefts are concealed? or ought not you rather to be compelled to bring them forth?" At these words the dictator commanded him to give over his evasions and subterfuges, and go directly to the proof of his charge, or else to confess before all the people, that he had slandered the senate. To this Manlius replying, "That he would not speak at the pleasure of his enemies," he was immediately ordered to prison. When the lictors laid hold of him, he cried out, "O Jupiter, most beneficent, most mighty; O Juno, queen of heaven; O Minerva, and all ye other

Livy, B. 6.  
c. 16.



gods and goddesses who reside in the capitol; will ye suffer your champion and defender to be thus treated by his enemies? Shall this right hand, with which I drove the Gauls from your sanctuaries, be manacled and locked in chains?"

We have on this occasion a surprising instance of the ready submission of the Romans to the commands of a lawful magistrate. The people, though seditiously devoted to Manlius, made not the least motion to hinder the execution of the sentence; not an angry expression was heard, nor a threatening look seen in the whole assembly. His adherents and abettors expressed their concern only by habits of mourning, neglecting to cut their hair and beards, crowding about the prison door, and there lamenting his misfortune.

In this time of the people's affliction, Cornelius Cossus had a triumph for his victory over the Volsci. The multitude expressed nothing but a deep dejection on that day of joy. Some were heard to say, that the dictator triumphed over a citizen, not over the enemy; that the chief ornament of the show was wanting; and that to gratify the victor's pride Manlius should have been led before his chariot. The senate, to soothe and pacify the people, decreed of their own motion to send a colony of Romans to Satricum, and allotted to every man two acres and a half of arable land. But this expedient proved ineffectual. So soon as the dictatorship of Cornelius was expired,

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCLXIX.  
Bef. J. C.  
Three hun-  
dred eighty-  
three.

Thirty-se-  
venth Mil.  
Trib.

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCLXIX.  
Bef. J. C.  
Three hun-  
dred eighty-  
three.

~  
Thirty-se-  
venth Mil.  
Trib.

Livy, B. 6.  
c. 17.

and the people freed from the dread of an uncontrollable magistrate, the discontent of Manlius's party began to grow into open sedition. Some reproached the multitude in public discourses, "That it was their custom to exalt their protectors to high and slippery stations, and then to forsake them in the very moment of danger and downfall: that Sp. Cassius, the first who proposed *the partition of the lands*; that Mælius, who in a famine generously fed the people at his own expense, had both of them been abandoned and destroyed; and that now Manlius, for endeavouring to free the poor debtors from slavery, was given up to his mortal enemies. It is a shame to see a consular thus treated, merely because he did not answer at the nod of the dictator. Suppose him to have invented a story, and therefore not to have an answer ready, was it ever known, that even a servant was put in irons for only telling a lie? Call to mind that fatal night when the Gauls climbed up the Tarpeian cliff, and when Manlius all covered with sweat and blood rescued, in a manner, even Jupiter himself out of the hands of the enemy. Do you think that half a pound of meal was a sufficient reward for the preserver of our country? Will you suffer a man, whom you have almost equalled to Jupiter, by giving him the surname of Capitolinus, to drag on a miserable life in a dungeon, and draw his breath at the pleasure of a jailer? Was one man able to preserve all, and shall not all be able to succour



one?" Discourses like these were frequently repeated, and the people surrounding the prison day and night, threatened to break it open. The senate, fearing lest the multitude in their fury should execute what they threatened, made a decree for his release: but they did not thereby put an end to the sedition; they only gave the seditious a leader.

During these commotions, ambassadors arrived from the Latines and the Hernici, as also from the cities of Circæi and Velitræ, demanding releasement of the prisoners taken in the last action when the dictator Cossus defeated the Volsci. The ambassadors of the former were received (though their demand was rejected) because those nations had been only allies of Rome; but the ambassadors of the latter were ordered immediately to depart, and not appear before the people, because those cities had been upon the foot of Roman colonies. The former enjoyed their own laws; the latter were subject to the laws of Rome, and had therefore no right to send ambassadors.

II. WHEN new magistrates came to be elected for the next year, the centuries chose Camillus military tribune a fifth time; and with him they joined Ser. Cornelius\*, P. Valerius†, Ser. Sulpicius‡, C. Papirius, and T. Quinctius§. The confidence of Manlius was now much increased by the timorousness of the senate, and the remissness of Cossus in not punishing him as a former dictator had done Mælius. And the poor plebeians entertained the hope, that

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCLXIX.  
Bef. J. C.  
Three hundred eighty-three.

Thirty-seventh Mil. Trib.

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCLXX.  
Bef. J. C.  
Three hundred eighty-two.

Thirty-eighth Mil. Trib.

Livy, B. 6. c. 18.

\* A third time.

† A second time.

‡ A second time.

§ A second time.



Year of  
R. O. M. E.  
CCCLXX.  
Bef. J. C.  
Three hun-  
dred eighty-  
two.

Thirty-  
eighth Mil.  
Trib.

under such a leader they should be able to get usury abolished. Livy gives us a long speech (doubtless of his own making) as spoken by Manlius, in an assembly held at his house in the citadel. The substance of the discourse is an exhortation to the plebeians "to free themselves from the burthen of their debts, and the tyranny of the patricians, by exerting their natural superiority of strength, and assuming the ascendant.—No more dictators—no more consuls—I declare myself the PATRON of the commons of Rome: my steady concern for their interests has already fixed upon me that title. If you are willing to bestow a higher upon your leader, it will enable him to assist you more effectually in the accomplishing of what you desire." Livy adds: "It is said, that from this time was set on foot a project for restoring kingly power; but it is not clearly said, how far it went, nor who were the projectors." In the debates of the senate, alarmed at the cabals held at a private man's house, a house too in the citadel, many of the fathers declared loudly, "That the commonwealth stood in need of another Servilius Ahala, who by one stroke should rid her of a bad citizen, and restore the public safety and tranquillity." And though the resolution of the assembly was, in *words*, more gentle, it was, in *effect*, not less violent: for by an order of the MILITARY TRIBUNES to take care, that the commonwealth suffered no detriment from the pernicious projects of Marcus Manlius, they empowered them to act

Livy, B. 6.  
c. 19.

as Ahala had done. And now these magistrates, and the *tribunes of the commons*, (for the latter, foreseeing that the loss of their dignities would soon follow that of the public liberty, had given themselves wholly to the senate) consulted together upon the proper measures to be taken in the present exigence; and when they were at a loss, no one having proposed any better expedient than *assassination*, which yet in all appearance would occasion a dangerous conflict, M. Manius and Q. Petilius, both tribunes of the commons, started a new thought: "Why do we make that to be a strife between the SENATE and the COMMONS, which ought to be a war of the whole state against one pestilent citizen? Why should we *attack him united with the commons*, when we may more safely *attack him by the commons themselves*? We purpose to appoint him a day to appear in judgment. Nothing is more odious to the people than royalty. And when the multitude shall see, that there is no contest with them; that they are made JUDGES in the cause; that the accusers are plebeians, the accused a patrician, and the crime charged, *aspiring to be king*; they will unquestionably show, that there is nothing they regard with so true a tenderness as their liberty."

This advice being unanimously approved, they notified to Manlius a day for his appearance, [before an assembly by centuries]. The plebeians were at first much affected to see him going about in a dress of mourning to so-

Year of  
R. O. M. E.  
CCCLXX.  
Bef. J. C.  
Three hundred eighty-two.

Thirty-  
eighth Mil.  
Trib.

Livy, B. 6.  
c. 20.

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCLXX.  
Bef. J. C.  
Three hun-  
dred eighty-  
two.

Thirty-  
eighth Mil.  
Trib.

licit favour ; not one senator, nor any of his kindred, not even his brothers, Aulus and Titus, accompanying him ; a thing the like to which had never happened before. Whence it is evident that there was a combination of all the patricians to oppress him, because he was the first of his family who had fallen off from their party to espouse the cause of the plebeians.

When the day of trial came, his accusers charged him with holding private assemblies, and with seditious words, ill-meant liberalities, and slandering the senate [with relation to the gold]. But Livy tells us, that he could not in any author find what direct proofs the tribunes brought of Manlius's aspiring to the regal power. However, he supposes, that sufficient proofs they had, since nothing but the circumstance of the place where he was tried (which was the Campus Martius) hindered his immediate condemnation.

Manlius is said to have produced near forty citizens, for the payment of whose debts he had advanced money, without interest, thereby recovering their effects which had been seized, and keeping their persons out of the prisons of their creditors. He produced two mural crowns, [of gold] his rewards for having entered the first into cities taken by assault ; eight civic crowns, [of oak-leaves] for having in battle saved the lives of so many citizens, among whom C. Servilius (when general of the horse) was one ; the spoils of thirty enemies, whom



he had slain with his own hand in single combat. He then opened his bosom, and showed it covered with scars, left by the wounds he had received in fight. Looking often to the capitol, he called upon Jupiter and the other gods for help; and he conjured the people to turn their faces to that sanctuary, and, when they were going to pronounce judgment, to think of the gods who resided there.

The people, touched with the humiliation and distress of a Roman, who by his bravery had saved the republic, and having before their eyes the very place where he had fought so valiantly against the Gauls, could not resolve to condemn him. The military tribunes plainly perceiving this, and that unless the multitude were removed to some place, whence they could not see the capitol, they would never give sentence against the accused, deferred the decision of the affair to another day, and appointed the place of the assembly to be in the Peteline wood, without the gate Flumentana. Then the object, which had saved Manlius, no longer dazzling the eyes of his judges, he was condemned to be thrown from the capitol itself; and the theatre of his glory became that of his punishment and shame. Two marks of infamy are said to have been fixed upon his memory; one by public authority, the other by private. The public decreed, that no patrician should thenceforward dwell in the capitol, or the citadel; and the Manlian family came to a resolution among

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCLXX.  
Bef. J. C.  
Three hundred eighty-two.

Thirty-  
eighth Mil.  
Trib.

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCLXX.  
Bef. J. C.  
Three hun-  
dred eighty-  
two.

Thirty-  
eighth Mil.  
Trib.

themselves, that no member of it should ever bear the prænomen of Marcus. Such (says Livy) was the end of a man who, if he had not been born in a free state, would have deserved to be remembered with honour by posterity. The multitude very soon regretted the loss of him. Their fear of his ambition being over, they remembered only his virtues: and because a plague broke out at this time without any discernible cause, many of the people ascribed it to the severe treatment of Manlius: "The CAPITOL," they said, "had been polluted with the blood of its deliverer; and the gods were offended at the execution, almost in their very presence, of a man, who had rescued their temples out of the hands of the enemy."

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## REMARKS

ON THE

### DEATH OF M. MANLIUS.

M. DACIER expresses his wonder at "the fantastic humour of the Roman people, who [though fully convinced of the guilt] could not prevail with themselves to condemn the criminal, while they had the CAPITOL before their eyes; yet presently after [without any new offence by him committed] could throw him headlong from that very CAPITOL, the sight of which had hindered them from condemning him<sup>1</sup>."

<sup>1</sup> Etrange bizarrerie du peuple! il ne peut se résoudre à condamner Manlius à la vue du capitol, et un moment après il le

Perhaps the reader may wonder at M. Dacier's giving credit to this part of the story; I mean *the trial and condemnation of Manlius by an assembly of the people*: I am well persuaded that Livy gave no credit to it, nor to several other particulars which he has so pompously delivered concerning Manlius.

The *public examination* (as Livy relates it) of MANLIUS, the year before his death, by the dictator, Cornelius Cossus, has too strong a mark of fiction, to have passed upon Livy for true history. The dictator charges Manlius with having slanderously<sup>2</sup> accused the principal senators of *secretly the gold that was snatched [by Camillus] out of the hands of the Gauls*. And Manlius is represented as making no difficulty to own, that he had so accused them, and that he believes them guilty. Now it is absolutely incredible, that Manlius charged the senators with secreting what every Roman, then living, knew with *certainty* to have been carried away by the Gauls<sup>3</sup>; for that the Gauls,

precipite de ce meme captole, dont la vuë l'avoit empeché de le condamner. *Dac. Plut. Vie de Cam.*

<sup>2</sup> ——— sermones pleni criminum in patres: inter quos thesauros Gallici auri occultari a patribus jecit: nec jam possidendis publicis agris contentos esse, nisi pecuniam quoque publicam avertant. Ea res si palam fiat, exolvere plebem ære alieno posse—indignum facinus videri, quum conferendum ad redimendam civitatem à Gallis aurum fuerit, tributo collationem factam *idem aurum ex hostibus captum* in paucorum prædam cessisse. L. 6. c. 14.

Spem factam à te civitati video, fide incolumi, ex *thesauris Gallicis*, quos primores patrum occultent creditum solvi posse. c. 15.

N. B. It is not improbable that Manlius did accuse the principal senators, and Camillus among the rest, not falsely but truly, of embezzling (not the gold weighed out for the Gauls, and which the Gauls carried off, but) what *remained* of the treasure, which the magistrates had amassed from voluntary contribution, after their paying the sum agreed upon for their ransom. That they were guilty of fraudulent purposes with regard to that remaining treasure, Livy furnishes ground to believe, by what he says of their scru-



Vid. supra,  
p. 447.

when they marched off, did not go without the ransom-gold, is made indisputable by Polybius's account; which account Livy had before him, though he takes no notice of it.

Indeed *the saving of this gold* is a point with which the Latine historian seems to have been much perplexed. Saved it must be: because it was not fit that such a majestic people as the Romans should be redeemed like so many paltry slaves. *Dūque et homines prohibuere redemptos vivere ROMANOS. Nam forte quadam, prius quam infanda merces perficeretur—Dictator intervenit, &c. Lib. 5. c. 49.*

Well, but what became of this gold, so fortunately preserved? Why truly, both *this* (which, in order to avoid a profane use of sacred treasures, had been collected from the women) and *other gold*, that in the fright and hurry had been taken out of several sanctuaries, and brought into the sanctuary of Jupiter, were deposited under the pedestal of Jupiter's statue.

But why, when all was safe and quiet, were not the women's ornaments restored to them? And why were not the other parcels of gold replaced in the respective sanctuaries to which they belonged? The reason was, it could not be distinctly remembered from *whence* and from *whom* the several parts of the treasure came; so it was thought best that *the whole* should be deemed *consecrated to the gods*. [As if the priests could not distinguish the gold of their respective temples, nor the women their own trinkets.] The women, it seems, in reward of their virtue, received public thanks; to which the public added an

pulous casuistry, and of the reasons they found for not parting with the gold they had got into their possession. And it is very possible, that this gold, properly applied, might have gone a great way towards discharging the debts of the poor plebeians, as Manlius is reported to have said.

honour. Instead of restoring to them the fineries of their dress, it was decreed, that they should have fine things said of them at their funerals, as the men had<sup>1</sup>.

That MANLIUS was convicted before the people, assembled by centuries, of attempting to make himself king of Rome; and that the people condemned him, as guilty of that crime, to be thrown from the Tarpeian rock; are facts which seem to be as little worthy of belief, as that he accused the senators of secreting gold, snatched [by Camillus] out of the hands of the Gauls. II.

[1.] For, first of all, Livy tells us that he could not in any author find what *direct* proofs the accusers of Manlius brought, of his plotting to be king. Crowds of people about him; seditious words; ill-meant liberalities [*largitio*]; slandering the senate in relation to the gold [*fallax indicium*]; these were all the particulars mentioned by those writers from whom Livy borrowed his accounts: yet our historian supposes, that weighty matters were proved against him, because [it is said] the sentence was deferred, not on account of any want of evidence, but merely on account of the place where the criminal was

<sup>1</sup> Aurum quod Gallis ereptum erat, quodque ex aliis templis inter trepidationem in Jovis cellam collatum, quum, in quæ referri oporteret, confusa memoria esset, sacrum omne judicatum, sub Jovis sella poni jussum. Jam ante in eo religio civitatis apparuerat, quod, quum in publico deesset aurum, ex quo summa pacta mercedis Gallis confieret, a matronis collatum acceperant, ut auro sacro abstineretur. Matronis gratiæ actæ, honosque additus, ut earum, sicut virorum, post mortem solennis laudatio esset. Lib. 5. c. 20.

Plutarch reports that the privilege granted to the women of having funeral orations was in reward of their giving [he should have said *lending*] their ornaments to make a vase, to be sent to Delphos, in discharge of Camillus's vow, when he was just going to the assault of Veii.

tried<sup>5</sup> [the field of Mars, whence the CAPITOL could be seen]: that is to say, if Manlius was certainly tried by the people, and if sentence against him was deferred on account only of the place where he was tried, then it is probable there was sufficient proof of his guilt. But presently after,

2. Our historian lets us know that he is not quite sure that Manlius was tried and condemned by the people: for, after speaking of their passing sentence against him, contrary to their inclination, even when they were in a place from whence the capitol could not be seen, he adds; “Some report that he was condemned by duumvirs, created to inquire into his treason.” *Sunt qui per duumviros, qui de perduellione anquirent creatos, auctores sint damnatum.*

3. As Livy by these last words discovers, that he did not know certainly before what court Manlius was tried; so, by what he says in the preceding chapter, he seems to allow his reader to believe, that the supposed criminal was never brought to trial before any court whatsoever, but was cut off by an act of mere violence, an act of that absolute power with which the senate had invested CAMILLUS and the other military tribunes, on purpose to destroy him. I say, Livy seems to intimate this, when he tells us, that the senate’s giving that extraordinary power to

<sup>5</sup> *Quum dies venit, quæ, præter cætus multitudinis, seditiosasque voces, et largitionem, et fallax indicium, pertinentia propriè ad regni crimen, ab accusatoribus objecta sint reo, apud neminem auctorem invenio. Nec dubito haud parva esse, quum damnandi mora plebi non in causa, sed in loco fuerit. C. 20.*

N. B. Manlius’s liberalities to the poor are said to have been *urged against him* as indications of his inordinate ambition. And he, *in his defence*, is said to have produced four hundred citizens, to whom he had advanced money, without interest, to prevent their falling into the cruel hands of their creditors.



the magistrates amounted to the same thing as a resolution to despatch Manlius (as Ahala had despatched Mælius) without any previous form of process <sup>6</sup>.

That they destroyed Manlius, by casting him down from the Tarpeian rock, may be easily believed, though we suppose no public sentence to have passed against him specifying that punishment: because his house, where, it is probable, the officers of the magistrates seized him, stood in the citadel, and therefore very near to that rock.

4. To the arguments, above offered, against the pretended trial and condemnation of Manlius, for plotting to be king, may be added *the great unlikelihood*, that any Roman, not out of his senses, would, in those times, furnish even the smallest ground for suspecting him of such a plot. Is it not, in the highest degree, improbable, that Manlius should hope to raise himself to a regal throne, by the help of a populace, whom he could not but know to have an hereditary and insuperable aversion to the very names of *king* and *kingdom*: insomuch, that the ambition of reigning [*cupiditas regni*] was, with them, the most unpardonable of all crimes; and for which no kind nor degree of merit could atone? Livy, on the present occasion, (as on several others) intimates this to have been the temper and turn of the Roman people. *Illud notandum videtur, ut sciant homines, quæ et quanta decora fœda cupiditas regni, non ingrata solùm, sed invisa etiam reddiderit, c. 20*: and then enumerates the worthy actions and heroic exploits of Manlius. [See what has been said on this head in the close of Chap. XIV. B. 2.]

<sup>6</sup> Magna pars [senatûs] vociferantur Servilio Ahala opus esse qui non in vincula duci jubendo irritet publicum hostem, sed unius jacturâ civis finiat intestinum bellum. Decurritur ad leniorem verbis sententiam, vim tamen eandem habentem: ut videant magistratus, ne quid ex pernicioso consilio M. Manlii respublica detrimenti capiat. Lib. 6. c. 19.

Liv. B. 6.  
c. 20.

But if Manlius was not guilty of designs against the LIBERTY of his country, nor of slandering the senators, what was it that made them so unanimously combine to destroy him? I answer; "His singular merit, his honest zeal for the LIBERTY of his fellow-citizens the poor plebeian debtors, continually exposed to become slaves to their merciless patrician creditors; [Consensu opprimi popularem virum, quod primus a patribus ad plebem defecisset.] His reproaching the nobles severely in words, and more severely by his example, with their rapaciousness, avarice, and oppressive usury; and his urging them to do, freely and from virtue, what a few years after they were constrained to do by an act of the legislature, an act passed by the tribes, in spite of the most vigorous opposition from the senate, aided by CAMILLUS, then dictator, and by a majority (which the senate had gained over to them) of the tribunes of the commons: I mean that LAW, which, to relieve the debtors, deducted from the principal debt whatever sums had been paid for interest." It was but seven years after the death of Manlius, that LICINIUS STOLO proposed that LAW: which, with two other laws, he, after a ten years struggle, prevailed to have enacted; much to the benefit of the commonwealth, as will be seen in the sequel of the story. Whatever appearance of injustice it may have, to make a law on purpose to hinder those, who have fairly lent their money, from exacting what by contract is legally due to them from the borrowers; such a law was absolutely necessary at this time, in order to preserve to the commons of Rome any appearance of freedom. And the very passing of this law, notwithstanding so mighty an opposition made to it, is alone a cogent proof, that the oppression which they suffered was excessive, and the distemper of the state such as required extraordinary and violent remedies. If we consider the words with

which Livy furnishes the centurion \*, (whom Manlius delivered out of the hands of his creditor) and the speech of Manlius †, to the dictator Cornelius Cos-  
 sus, we shall have a just idea of the miserable condition of the commons, and of the relief proposed by their brave and generous advocate. For it is evident (as the reader will find) from the following parts of Livy's narrative, that he does not make the two speakers exaggerate the grievances of the commons, or make them say more than was strictly true concerning the cruel oppression which the poor debtors laboured under : and the very remedy proposed by Manlius was one of those remedies that, very soon after, were by the legislature judged necessary to be employed.

LIVY and PLUTARCH represent the zeal of Manlius in behalf of the debtors, as having its source in envy and anger, envy to CAMILLUS, and anger against the SENATE for preferring that rival before him to govern the state and command the army. Doubtless in the year 369, when Manlius's popularity is said to have alarmed the senate, he had just cause to think himself unworthily and injuriously neglected by them. But that this neglect of him was not the cause, but the effect of his zeal for the poor debtors, will, I think, appear from the following considerations.

A braver soldier than Marcus Manlius the Roman state had never produced. The military rewards which he received from the generals, under whom he served, are an incontestable proof of it ; and in the year 361, *two years before* his most celebrated exploit of *saving the capitol*, he had been honoured with the consulship. And yet after that important service (in 363) we never see him in any magistracy whatsoever. How shall we account for this ? It may easily be granted, that CAMILLUS was superior, in abilities, to Manlius, and to every other Roman of that time.

\*See p. 456.

†See p. 458.



for *the conduct of an army*; and this may furnish a plausible reason, why the senate, in pressing and extraordinary exigencies, had recourse to those abilities. But since no less than six persons were every year chosen to the military tribuneship (except in the year 364, when the senate continued Camillus in the dictatorship, that he might hinder the people from removing to Veii), and since there had been five elections in the time between the Gauls' departure and the commotion occasioned by the generosity of Manlius in 369, how came it to pass, that a patrician of such high birth, a hero so applauded and extolled at the time of the siege, was never after appointed to be one of the six governing magistrates? His brother, Aulus Manlius, who had no merit (that we read of) to recommend him, was nevertheless a military tribune in the year 365, and again in 369, the very year in which the senate created Cornelius Cossus dictator to quell the commotion raised by the liberality of Marcus.

May we not fairly gather from this uninterrupted exclusion of Marcus from the magistracy after the rebuilding of the city, that he began about that time to disoblige Camillus and the other oligarchs; and that their discontent with him was on account of his compassionate concern, warmly expressed, for the poor plebeians, loaded with debt, and who had lately "increased the burthen by borrowing money to build their houses," as Livy informs us?

It ought here to be remarked, that the necessity of borrowing money to build was a necessity to which they were subjected, merely by the senate's refusing to let them remove to Veii; which removal, after *the total destruction* of Rome by the Gauls, would in all appearance have been a very reasonable measure: but it would not have been consistent with the views of the oligarchs, who were bent upon making to

themselves immense estates out of the newly conquered Veientan territory.

It is not indeed unlikely, that MANLIUS (who unquestionably saved the capitol) was discontented to see Camillus (who unquestionably did not drive away the Gauls and save the gold) so distinguished by the senate, as if he alone was qualified to command an army. And Manlius might with the more reason be dissatisfied, as he knew that Camillus's chief merit with the fathers was not his military skill, but his skill and inclination to keep the plebeians in extreme indigence, and thereby in a state of servitude to the patrician usurers. Livy, though he seems to have made it a rule to himself, always to speak respectfully of the senate, yet tells us, "that when the election of military tribunes, for the year 354, was coming on, the attention of the fathers to that affair, and their concern for the event, were very near being greater than their care about the war<sup>7</sup>:" and yet the Romans were at that time engaged in the important siege of Veii: and he likewise tells us, "That the senate, when, in the year 359, by using their utmost efforts, they got Camillus into the military tribuneship, pretended, that it was to provide the republic, with an able general, but that their real motive was to provide themselves with a magistrate, who would oppose the tribunes' bill for a distribution of the public lands<sup>8</sup>:" so that Manlius, who was as compassionate and generous as he was brave, needed not the incitement of ambition or envy to make him displeased with the senate's throwing so much

<sup>7</sup> Jam comitia tribunorum militum aderant, quorum prope major patribus, quam belli cura erat. L. 5. c. 14.

<sup>8</sup> Comitibus tribunorum militum patres summa ope evicerant, ut M. Furius Camillus crearetur. Propter bella simulabant parari ducem, sed largitioni tribuniciæ adversarius quærebatur. L. 5. c. 26.

power into the hands of a man, whose temper and character made him very unfit to be at the helm of a free state.

Just reasons unquestionably there were, why CAMILLUS, though an exile on account of mal-administration, was by an act of senate and people recalled from banishment and created dictator in the year 363, when the Gauls invested the capitol: but the reasonableness of continuing him in the dictatorship throughout the year 364 may very well be questioned. For it is not evident, that, in this unprecedented step, they had any view to the good of the public; and it is plain beyond a doubt, that they had a view to their private interests: that by the means of Camillus, invested with the terrors of absolute power, they purposed to keep the people at a distance from Veii, and thereby to hinder them from having their just share of the conquered lands, and likewise from seeing how shamefully the oligarchs made themselves rich by robbing the commonwealth. For that these were their principal objects appears from the whole thread of the history of these times.

Vid. *supra*,  
p. 435.

We have seen that the fathers, when in the year 360, by tears and entreaties and talking much about religion, they had prevailed to have the [very unreasonable] bill, *for dividing the senate and people between Rome and Veii*, rejected, were in such joy for their victory, that the next morning they passed a decree for assigning to every freeman of Rome seven acres of the lands of Veii. Doubtless this decree, though represented by Livy as an act of voluntary bounty, when joy had opened and dilated the hearts of the senators (not apt to such effusion of goodness) was made in performance of a promise, by which they had gained a majority of the tribes to vote against the bill in question. And there is some reason to doubt, whether they ever put the decree



in execution. And, if they did, it would seem, that they very soon got the land back again out of the hands of the poor plebeians, and probably\* in satisfaction of interest for money they had lent to those plebeians. For Livy introduces one of the tribunes, in that long contest which began about thirteen years after this notable bounty, expostulating with the principal senators, "How they could have the confidence to desire that every one of them might be allowed to possess more than 500 acres of land, while no more than two acres was allowed to each plebeian<sup>9</sup>."

\* Vid. supra, p. 435.

To return to CAMILLUS: he was again created dictator in 365; and military tribune (for the fourth time) in 368, and again in 370; and invested with absolute power, purposely to destroy MANLIUS. Though Camillus had five colleagues, Plutarch represents him as principal in the prosecution, and as the magistrate who removed the assembly to a place whence the capitol could not be seen: which makes M. Dacier ask, "But why was Camillus so eager to get Manlius condemned, a person of such eminent merit, and who had served so well? Why did he not leave that melancholy honour to his colleagues?" He adds, "Livy, to avoid throwing all the odium of the action upon Camillus alone, says,\* That the [military] tribunes, perceiving the effect which the sight of the capitol produced<sup>10</sup>," &c.

<sup>9</sup> Auderentne postulare, ut quum bina jugera agri plebi dividerentur, ipsis plus quingenta jugera habere liceret? Ut singuli prope trecentorum civium possiderent agros, plebeio homini vix ad tectum necessarium, aut locum sepulturæ, suus pateret ager? Liv. L. 6. c. 36.

And in lib. 6. c. 21. Livy informs us, that the senate (in the year 371, just after the murder of Manlius) to engage the people's consent to a declaration of war, passed a decree *for dividing the Pomptin territory among them*. Yet we do not find, that this was done till many years after the decree.

<sup>10</sup> Mais pour quoi Camillus poursuivoit-il avec tant d'ardeur la condamnation de Manlius, d'un homme de ce

M. Dacier might have found perhaps a satisfactory answer to his question, if he had attended to what Plutarch says in his comparison of Camillus with Themistocles. The biographer, though he sometimes extols the Roman hero to the skies, yet leaves it doubtful, "Whether it was the love of liberty and of his country that made him prosecute Manlius to death, or whether his hatred to Manlius was not owing to a secret jealousy of a rival, illustrious by many noble exploits, and especially by that of saving the capitol; whence he acquired the surname of Capitulinus."

But, without having recourse either to *amor patriæ*, or to any *supposed jealousy* of a rival for military glory, it would seem that we may well account for Camillus's being the chief actor in the destruction of Manlius. This humane, generous, noble-spirited hero, by his civil and social virtues, reproached, eclipsed, and dishonoured the invincible Camillus; and, by patronising the cause of the distressed plebeians, opposed the gratification of his (seemingly ruling passion) avarice.

Dr. Midd.  
Pref. to Life  
of Cicero,  
p. xvi.

A late celebrated author observes, "That the writers of particular lives are apt to be partial and prejudiced in favour of their subject, and to give us a panegyric instead of a history"—and that "this seems to flow from the nature of the thing itself, where the very inclination to write is generally grounded in prepossession, and an affection already contracted for the person whose history we are attempting; and when we sit down with the disposition of a friend, it is natural for us to cast a shade over his failings, and to give the strongest colourings to his virtues."

merite & qui avoit si bien servi? Que ne cedit il ce triste honneur à ses collegues? Aussi *Tite Live*, pour ne pas faire tomber toute la haine de cette action sur Camillus seul, dit, *Que les tribuns s'étant appercu des l'effet que cette vuë produisoit, &c.*

Perhaps there is not a more striking instance of the truth of what is here said, than PLUTARCH's *Life of CAMILLUS*. It abounds with indications of an extreme partiality. He extols the only good action (recorded) of his hero, greatly beyond its merit; and discovers a most friendly disposition to believe, that he never did any thing wrong.

Certainly it required no extraordinary elevation of soul, nor any thing beyond common prudence and policy, and a moderate sense of honour, to act as Camillus did, with relation to the schoolmaster of Felerii. It was one of those parts of conduct, the performance of which does not render a man so praiseworthy as the non-performance of them renders him infamous. Yet from Plutarch's admiration of the deed, one would imagine it to be something so glorious as not to be looked at without having the eyes of our minds dazzled with its brightness.

CAMILLUS was, by the Roman people, thought guilty of impious vanity, when with his face painted red, and in a chariot drawn by white horses, he rode in triumph for the conquest of VEII. What says our biographer to this? Why truly he is of opinion, "That we may reasonably presume, the gods would not have showered down so many favours upon Camillus, if he had really offended them by any impiety."

Vid. *supra*,  
P. 429.

But did not Camillus embezzle and appropriate to his private use some of the wealth belonging to the public? Of this he was accused; and he was cited to appear in judgment before the people to answer the charge. Neither the principal men of his tribe, nor his clients (which, says Livy<sup>11</sup>, made a consider-

<sup>11</sup> — M. Furium ab urbe amovere. Qui die dictâ ab L. Apuleio tribuno plebis, propter prædam Veientanam, filio quoque adolescente per idem tempus orbatus, quum accitis domum tribulibus, et clientibus, quæ magna pars



able part of the commons) nor (according to Plutarch) his colleagues heretofore in office, nor his friends, when all were assembled to consider of his case, would give him any hopes of escaping condemnation: so, to avoid a trial, he ran away, cursing his countrymen. One would naturally conclude from these particulars, that he was guilty. No, says Plutarch, "The gods declared him innocent by bringing the Gauls against Rome to revenge his cause, and punish the Romans for their unjust treatment of him."

And the biographer will have it, "that he was banished for his steady opposition to the *BILL for removing half of the senate and people to VEII*; which bill (if we may credit Livy) the people themselves, moved by the entreaties of the senators, [and probably more moved by a promise of seven acres of the lands of Veii to each of them] had rejected three years before this prosecution.

Indeed it is highly probable, that, long before the impeachment of Camillus, the greater part of the plebeians had received impressions much to his disadvantage: for the whole series of his conduct towards the commons appears, even from the accounts given of it by his panegyrists, to have been base and detestable; so base, that one may reasonably wonder how it could happen, that Camillus should be such a favourite character as he certainly is with most readers of ancient history. However, this may perhaps be sufficiently accounted for by the same reflections which the ingenious writer, before quoted, makes on another occasion.

Midd. Life  
of Cicero,  
Pref. p. xvii.

"Among the celebrated names of antiquity, those of the great conquerors and generals attract our ad-

plebis erat, percunctatus animos eorum responsum tulisset, *Se collaturos quanti damnatus esset, absolvere eum non posse*, in exilium abiit. L. 5. c. 32.

miration always the most, and imprint a notion of magnanimity, and power, and capacity for dominion, superior to that of other mortals: these are the only persons who are thought to shine in history, or to merit the attention of the reader: dazzled with the splendour of their victories, and the pomp of their triumphs, we consider them as the pride and ornament of the Roman name; while the pacific and civil character, though of all others the most beneficial to mankind, whose sole ambition is to support the laws, the rights, and liberty of his citizens, is looked upon as humble and contemptible on the comparison, for being forced to truckle to the power of these oppressors of their country."

That Camillus was superior in military skill to all his cotemporaries, and that he did important service to his country by many victories<sup>12</sup> in the field, is not to be disputed. But when we have granted thus much, what is there more to say in his praise? How scandalous an appearance does he make as a citizen, a member of a republic erected on the principles of liberty?

1. He is reported to have vowed the tenth of the spoil of VEII to APOLLO, in case the Romans should become masters of the place.

LIVY says, that Camillus made this vow just before he assailed the walls: according to PLUTARCH, it was before he set out from Rome to go to the siege: and it seems most probable from the sequel of the story, that neither before nor after he left Rome, did he ever act so senseless a part: but that when he and the senate, thinking that the poor soldiers had got too rich a reward of their labours (during a ten years siege) wanted to

<sup>12</sup> Plutarch, in comparing the exploits of Camillus with those of Themistocles, intimates that there is so much of surprise, and of the *merveilleux*, spread over the actions of the Romans, as make them fitter subjects for painters and poets than for historians.

Vid. supra,  
p. 430.

rob them of part of it, he then falsely pretended to have made the vow in question. For should we grant, that the general of a Roman army might, from certain religious prepossessions, without being out of his senses, really intend to make a present of a tenth part of the wealth of Veii, (the richest city of Tuscany) to the Grecian priests of Apollo at Delphi; I say, supposing this, How came it, that Camillus did not in due time, and before the booty was carried off, acquaint the soldiers with his act of devotion? Why, truly, he had forgot it: "the worst," says Plutarch, "and the most ridiculous of all excuses." The soldiers, nevertheless, threatened with the anger of the gods, paid into the public stock the value of a tenth of what they had brought home.

Vid. supra,  
p. 431.

2. Fraud and imposture succeeding so well, a new trial of it is made the next year. The poor citizens being many of them eagerly bent on removing to VEII, that they may get a reasonable share of the lands belonging to it, Camillus, to throw a religious obstacle in their way, is pleased then to have a new scruple: he recalls to mind, that his vow to Apollo had comprehended, not only the *moveables*, but the *city* of Veii, and all its *territory*. The senate<sup>13</sup> have tender consciences, and therefore refer this nice case to the pontifices, the casuists of the state. These having discoursed with Camillus, and informed themselves satisfactorily of his *intention* when he made the vow, are clear in opinion, that Apollo must have the tenth of whatever had, before the vow, *belonged*

<sup>13</sup> Quum ea disceptatio anceps senatui visa, delegata ad pontifices esset, adhibito Camillo, visum collegio, quod ejus ante conceptum votum Veientium fuisset, & post votum in potestatem populi Romani venisset, ejus partem decimam Apollini sacram esse. Ita in æstimationem urbs agerque venit: pecunia e ærario prompta, et tribunis militum consularibus, ut aurum ex ea coëmerent, negotium datum. L. 5. c. 25.



to the Veientes, and had since the vow *fallen into the power of the ROMANS*. [Not a word however of the money raised by the sale of the captives, and transmitted to the public treasury (that is to say, transmitted to Rome for the use of the leading men of the senate :) for though the *persons* of the VEIENTES *had fallen into the power of the Romans*, yet the casuists, it is likely, might hold, that the *persons* of the VEIENTES being the Veientes themselves, they could not properly be said to *belong to the Veientes*, and so were not comprehended within the vow.] Well but how shall Apollo get his due? The tenth of the houses and lands of Veii cannot be sent to Delphi. Camillus and his associates have an easy expedient for this. They get the town and territory *appraised*, and they pay out of the public treasury, into their own hands, the tenth of the value; that they may buy gold to make a cup for Apollo. [The god was to have had a cup, before the appraisement, and he gets nothing more now: no; but the senate find their account in this transaction. For the public having purchased, of the god, his tenth of the city and lands of Veii, and this tenth not being divided from the rest, it is become impracticable for the people to put their project in execution, till the senate shall think proper to ascertain and set out the particular houses and lands that belong to the public, in virtue of the late purchase.]

Vid. supra,  
p. 428.

LIVY exhibits to his reader this whole scene of oppression, knavery, and religious imposture, and makes Camillus the principal actor in all: and yet speaks of him as the glory of Rome at this time, and the envy of M. Manlius.

On the other hand, though the historian (wanting proof) first supposes Marcus Manlius to have been actuated by pride, envy, and ambition, and then invents for him words and discourse, such as a man, under the influence of those passions, might possibly

utter, yet it is to be remarked, that he mentions not any one thing as certainly done by Manlius, but what is praiseworthy.

And from these observations one would be inclined to think, that the oldest *traditions*, and perhaps the first written accounts concerning the transactions of those times were all favourable to Manlius, and much to the disadvantage of the senate and Camillus: but that the later historians (and LIVY in particular) who on many occasions do evidently consult the glory of the Romans, and especially of the senate, more than truth, perceiving plainly, that, in the minds of strangers and of posterity, the venerable fathers and optimates of those days would be much disgraced, if it remained an established point of history, “That an eminent patrician, a man distinguished for his bravery, and gallant exploits, and who had done essential service to the state, was assassinated by them, only because he impoverished himself to relieve poor debtors, and warmly declaimed against excessive usury;” the later historians, I say, to cover, in part, the infamous conduct of Camillus and the patrician faction, thought it convenient to suppose (without evidence) the truth of what that faction imputed to Manlius, when they had determined to cut him off. Accordingly those writers have reported, that in all probability Manlius (otherwise a Roman of eminent virtue) was seized with the *cupiditas regni* <sup>14</sup>, and endeavoured to make himself king of Rome. Of this charge against

<sup>14</sup> The same distemper had, with equal truth, been imputed to Spurius Cassius \*, and in after times was imputed to Tiberius Gracchus and his brother Caius. This stratagem of the senate, when they wanted to destroy an adversary by the hands of the Roman people, was somewhat like pointing out to our populace a man, as bit by a mad dog, and incurable, and whom it is necessary to destroy in order to prevent mischief. The latter is not so malicious, because not so certainly fatal, as was the other.

\* Vid. supra, p. 254, & seq.

him Livy confesses that he found no proof, except his good deeds, (his liberalities) and some seditious discourse, that is to say, some discourse against exorbitant usury, cruelty to insolvent debtors, and robbing the public; of all which the chief men of the senate were notoriously guilty: for it is to be observed, that, with Livy, sedition frequently signifies nothing more than opposition to the desires and measures of the senate.

If it be granted (as surely it will) that in order to form just ideas of the merit or demerit of those men who make the principal figures in history, we must attend chiefly to what they did, and not to the characters given of them by their historians, M. Manlius Capitolinus will, I think, appear to have been an honest, benevolent, generous, open-hearted, brave soldier, a friend to just liberty; the invincible M. Furius Camillus, a vain, hypocritical, avaricious robber of the public, the champion of tyrannical usurers, and the murderer of the best man in the commonwealth. Always a hero in the field, always an oppressor in the city, he opposed for ten years together the enacting of those LAWS, to the execution of which, when enacted, were owing the liberty, the virtue, the glory, and the empire of the Romans<sup>15</sup>. I mean the laws proposed by Licinius Stolo, in the year 377, and passed by the tribes in 386. A writer, on no occasion partial to the tribunes of the commons, tells us, that “they never left teasing the senate with fresh demands, till they had laid open to the plebeian families a promiscuous right to all the magistracies of the republic, and by that means a free admission into the senate.” He adds, “Thus far they were certainly in the right, and acted like true patriots; and after many sharp con-

Dr. Midd.  
Pref. to Life  
of Cicero,  
p. xxxvii.

<sup>15</sup> In the introduction to the fourth book of this history, the reader will find some reflections on the excellency of these laws; and he may find the same reflections inserted in the preliminary discourse of the ingenious author of the new translation of Cæsar's Commentaries.



tests had now brought the government of Rome to its perfect state ; when its honours were no longer confined to particular families, but proposed equally and indifferently to every citizen ; who by his virtue and services, either in war or peace, could recommend himself to the notice and favour of his countrymen." To hinder this improvement of the constitution, and to keep the plebeians in a slavish dependence on insatiable patrician usurers, were the chief objects of the care of the great Camillus, in his old age. Created dictator by the senate (in the year 385) for no other end, but that he might abuse the power annexed to that office, he (to answer the purpose of his creation) by menaces, and by his lictors, drove the people from the Forum, when they were going to enact the most excellent laws. The two tribunes, however, not dismayed hereby, and knowing his weak side, quickly frightened him, by an attack there, into an abdication of his dictatorship. Plutarch speaks only of their threatening him with a heavy fine ; but Livy tells us <sup>16</sup>, that according to some writers, the tribunes actually got a law passed by the commons, subjecting him to that heavy fine, in case he interposed his authority of dictator, to hinder the proceedings of the *comitia*. Be that as it will, Camillus, after mention of the fine, suddenly laid down his sovereign magistracy, under pretence, says Plutarch, of bodily indisposition. The *Latine* historian, very unwilling to believe that the hero retreated through fear, gives four or five reasons against that opinion ; and is inclined to think, that he quitted his post out of a religious scruple, relating to

<sup>16</sup> — re neutro inclinata magistratu se abdicavit : seu quia vitio creatus erat, ut scripsere quidam ; seu quia tribuni plebis tulerunt ad plebem, idque plebes scivit, ut si M. Furius pro dictatore quid egisset, quingentum millium [æris] ei mulcta esset. L. 6. c. 38.

some newly discovered defect in the ceremony of his inauguration: but if the love of riches was the hero's ruling passion, as it seems to have been, this will furnish a sufficient answer to twenty better reasons than Livy has produced; and, by the account which Plutarch gives of the insult offered to the hero the next year when he was again dictator, and of the meek part he then acted, it appears (if the story be true, for Livy says nothing of it) that the tribunes, by threatening to make him pay, had totally subdued his spirit.

I conclude from the whole of these remarks, that MANLIUS, innocent of all designs against the liberty of his country, fell a sacrifice to the avarice and ambition of CAMILLUS, and the other oligarchs, his associates in oppressive iniquities.

### CHAP. III.

1. *During the six following years and the beginning of the seventh, Rome is almost entirely free from civil dissensions; but wars are carried on abroad against the Prænestini and Volsci with very little interruption. Camillus being one of the military tribunes in the year 373, gives a remarkable proof of his moderation, when disrespectfully treated by one of his colleagues.*

AULUS MANLIUS\* [probably an infamous usurer, and for that reason not consenting to the death<sup>1</sup> of his brother Marcus] was chosen

• A third time.

<sup>1</sup> Aulus Manlius was one of the military tribunes when the patricians made their first attempt to destroy his brother, in the year 369.

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCLXXI.  
Bef. J. C.  
Three hun-  
dred eigh-  
ty-one.



Thirty-  
ninth Mil.  
Trib.

Livy, B. 6.  
c. 21.

\* A fourth  
time.

† A third  
time.

‡ A third  
time.

§ A third  
time.

one of the military tribunes at the very next elec-  
tion, and with him were joined L. Valerius \*,  
Ser. Sulpicius †, L. Lucretius ‡, L. Æmilius §,  
and M. Trebonius. The plague still raged,  
and to add to the misfortune, Rome was not  
only threatened again by the Volsci, but by  
some of her own colonies which revolted; so  
that the senate found it necessary to engage  
the people's consent to a war. And in order  
to this they promised to divide the Pomptin  
territory among them, and named five commis-  
sioners to make the distribution of the lands,  
and three others to lead a colony to Nepete.  
Hereupon the tribes unanimously agreed, not-  
withstanding the opposition of the tribunes,  
that troops should be raised to act against the  
several enemies of Rome. Accordingly troops  
were raised; but, the plague continuing, the  
military tribunes durst not lead them into the  
field. And though Præneste followed the ex-  
ample of Velitræ, Circæi, and other colonies,  
the low condition of the republic obliged her  
to suspend her resentments.

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCLXXXII  
Bef. J. C.  
Three hun-  
dred eighty.



Fortieth  
Mil. Trib.

\* A fourth  
time.

† A fourth  
time.

Livy, B. 6.  
c. 22

But in the following military tribuneship of  
Sp. Papirius, L. Papirius, Ser. Cornelius \*, Q.  
Servilius, Ser. Sulpicius, and L. Æmilius †, the  
two first marched an army towards Velitræ,  
and in the neighbourhood of that place de-  
feated the Veliterni, though joined by great  
numbers from Præneste. The generals did not  
think it advisable to besiege Velitræ, but ra-  
ther to pursue the war with vigour against the



Prænestins, who had further provoked the Romans by assisting the Volsci.

And now the republic having much work upon her hands, turned her eyes again upon the invincible Camillus, to raise him a sixth time to the military tribuneship. Camillus, apprehensive of the vicissitude of fortune, was willing to spend the remainder of his days in tranquillity: but in vain he endeavoured to excuse himself, by pleading his age and infirmities; the people declared, that they did not expect him to fight in person either on foot or on horseback, but only desired him to assist the army with his counsel, and make it invincible by commanding it. A. Posthumius, L. Posthumius, L. Furius, L. Lucretius\*, and M. Fabius Ambustus, were chosen to be his colleagues. The senate decreed the conduct of the war against the Volsci to Camillus; it fell by lot to L. Furius to be joined with him. All the troops, consisting of four legions, marched towards Satricum, which the Volsci and Prænestins had lately taken, and where they had formed their camp. Camillus posted himself at a small distance from the enemy, but was in no haste to fight; he either waited for better health, or to receive a reinforcement of troops. In the meantime the Volsci endeavoured to provoke the Romans to a battle, and these grew impatient of the insult. Their ardour for fighting was increased by the rash discourses of young Furius, who imputed the prudent delays of his colleague "to his age, which," he

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCLXXXIII.  
Bef. J. C.  
Three hundred seven-  
ty-nine.

Forty-first  
Mil. Trib.  
Plut. Life of  
Camillus,  
p. 148.

\* A third  
time.

Livy, B. 6.  
c. 23.

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCLXXII.  
Bef. J. C.  
Three hun-  
dred seven-  
ty-nine.

Forty-first  
Mil. Trib.  
Plut. Life of  
Camillus,  
p. 149.

Livy, B. 6.  
c. 24.

c. 25.

said, “ had chilled his blood.” He at length addressed himself to Camillus, reproached him with his inaction, and urged him to comply with the desires of the soldiers. Camillus answered with an air of superiority, but with great temper, “ That hitherto the Roman people had not been dissatisfied with his conduct in war; that nevertheless, if the impetuosity which hurried the soldiers on to an engagement was not to be restrained, he wished them success, but desired to be excused, on account of his age, from engaging in the foremost ranks. While Furius drew up his troops in order of battle, Camillus prepared a *corps de reserve* to assist his colleague in case of distress; and this precaution proved of great importance: for when the young general, whose vigorous charge did not fail to put the Volsci to flight, had, through his indiscreet warmth in pursuing them too far, suffered a defeat, Camillus rallied the broken cohorts, and repulsed the enemy. The next day he joined battle with them again. Furius, whom he had placed at the head of the cavalry, being sensible of his fault, entreated his troops to exert themselves to recover his reputation. Accordingly, when the infantry were hard pressed, the horse, at his request, dismounted, and gave them assistance so opportunely, as to make them victorious. Among the prisoners were found some of the inhabitants of Tusculum, a neighbouring city, and in alliance with Rome. These, being examined, declared that they had taken arms with the consent of their

magistrates. This account alarmed Camillus, and he thought it necessary to go in person to Rome with the prisoners, and lay the matter before the senate. Though he left Furius to command the troops during his absence, yet it was generally believed both in the army and in the city, that his chief business at Rome was to complain of him. The senate therefore, when they observed that he said nothing of Furius, but confined his discourse to the revolt of the Tusculans, were much astonished; and still more so, when of all his colleagues he chose Furius to accompany him in the new expedition against Tusculum. By this conduct Camillus gained honour to himself, and covered the disgrace of the young general [probably his kinsman.] As for the Tusculans, they disarmed the resentment of the Romans by making no resistance. Camillus found the husbandmen at work in the fields, as in times of the profoundest peace; the magistrates of the city sent him provisions, and came out to meet him; and when he entered the place he found the shops and schools open, the markets full, and not the least sign of war. The general, pleased and satisfied with these tokens of repentance, advised the senate of Tusculum to send a deputation to Rome, there to make their submission. Deputies were accordingly despatched, who, habited in mourning, and with their dictator at their head, addressed the conscript fathers in a suppliant manner. The senate readily forgave the Tusculans, and, to

Year of  
R O M E.  
CCCLXXIII.  
Bef. J. C.  
Three hundred  
seventy-nine.

Forty-first  
Mil. Trib.

Livy, B. 6.  
c. 26.



Year of  
R O M E  
CCCLXXIV.  
Bef. J. C.  
Three hun-  
dred seven-  
ty-eight.

Forty-se-  
cond Mil.  
Trib.

Livy, B. 6.  
c. 27.

\* A fifth  
time.

† A third  
time.

‡ A second  
time.

§ A third  
time.

|| A fifth  
time.

Livy, B. 6.  
c. 28.

make them entirely Roman, granted them, soon after, the privileges of Roman citizens.

The following administration of L. Valerius \*, P. Valerius †, Menenius ‡, C. Sergius §, Sp. Papirius, and Ser. Cornelius ||, was disturbed by domestic seditions and a foreign war. The two censors had begun to examine into the grounds of the complaints made by the poor debtors, when one of those magistrates died; upon which the other, as custom required, laid down his office, and the Romans proceeded to a new election. But the patricians, who were doubtless afraid of a census, (because it must of course discover their riches and excessive usury, and the oppression which the poor debtors laboured under) pretended some defect in the election, and thence took occasion to declare publicly, that it was against the will of the gods, that the republic should have any censors this year. The tribunes of the commons exclaimed against this proceeding, as an intolerable artifice; and would suffer no levies to be made to oppose the Prænestins, till these, emboldened by the discord in Rome, came pillaging to its very gates. Then in a fright and a hurry the people all ran to arms, Titus Quinctius was created dictator, troops were raised without opposition, and the Prænestins (such a dread they had of a dictator) instantly removed further off. Possessed with a vain conceit, that the banks of the Allia must always prove a fatal place to the Romans, they encamped there, and were there routed. The

dictator, by assault, took eight towns subject to Præneste, and then Velitræ; after which Præneste, without waiting to be attacked, capitulated. From that city Quinctius brought, in triumph, the statue of Jupiter Imperator, and placed it in the capitol between the sanctuaries of Jupiter Capitolinus and Minerva, and then abdicated his dictatorship, which he had held only twenty days.

The government of the republic passed now into the hands of three patricians and three plebeians: the former were P. Manlius, C. Manlius, and L. Julius\*; the latter C. Sextilius, M. Albinus, and L. Antisius. To the two Manlii, because more nobly born than their plebeian colleagues, and more in favour than Julius, the senate gave the conduct of the war against the Volsci, but had soon cause to repent of this preference: for those generals, without first acquainting themselves with the country, sent out some cohorts to forage; and, upon the single report of a Latine, who, disguised under the appearance of a Roman soldier, came hastily with the false tidings, that the foragers were by the enemy intercepted and surrounded, marched the army with all expedition to their rescue, and thereby fell into an ambush, where the desperate courage alone of the soldiers (not the skill of the commanders) preserved them from total destruction; and the Volsci, during the action, detached a part of their troops, which surprised and plundered the Roman camp. When the news of these disasters came to Rome, the senate were at

Year of  
R. O. M. E.  
CCCLXXIV.  
Bef. J. C.  
Three hundred  
seventy-eight.

Forty-second  
Mil. Trib.

Livy, B. 6.  
c. 29.

Year of  
R. O. M. E.  
CCCLXXV.  
Bef. J. C.  
Three hundred  
seventy-seven.

Forty-third  
Mil. Trib.

\* A second  
time.  
Livy, B. 6.  
c. 30.



Year of  
R O M E  
CCCLXXV.  
Bef. J. C.  
Three hun-  
dred seven-  
ty-seven.

Forty-third  
Mil. Trib.

first for naming a dictator; but judging by the inaction of the conquerors, that they knew not how to improve a victory, it was only resolved to call home the army and its commanders. During these misfortunes abroad, Rome continued free from all domestic broils; which may reasonably be imputed to the share the plebeians had at this time in the government.

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCLXXVI.  
Bef. J. C.  
Three-hun-  
dred seven-  
ty-six.

Forty-  
fourth Mil.  
Trib.

\* A second  
time.  
Livy, B. 6.  
c. 31.

The next year, when Sp. Furius, Q. Servilius \*, C. Licinius, P. Clælius, M. Horatius, and L. Geganius, all patricians, held the military tribuneship, was far from being so peaceable. What gave occasion to the disturbance, were the debts. To inquire into these, two censors had been created; but they could not proceed in the affair, because of a fresh irruption of the Volsci into the Roman territory. The tribunes of the commons however pursued their point with more warmth than ever, and opposed the levies, till they had forced the senate to issue a decree, that no person should be disturbed either for private debts, or for the public taxes during the present war. Hereupon all opposition to the levies ceased, and the Romans took ample revenge on the Volsci. But the war was no sooner at an end, than the creditors renewed the prosecution of their debtors; who, far from having any hopes of discharging their old debts, found themselves under a necessity of contracting new, on account of a tax imposed on them, to defray the expense of a wall of square stone, which the censors were building; and the oppressed plebeians could



get no help from their tribunes, because, no army being at this time wanted, these had no levies to obstruct.

NAY, the next year, when, by the powerful influence of the patricians, six<sup>2</sup> men of that order were again in the supreme magistracy, they raised, without any opposition from the tribunes of the commons, three armies, one to guard the city, another to be ready to march on any unexpected occasion, and a third to take the field under the command of Valerius and Æmilius, against the confederated Latines and Volsci, who had commenced hostilities, and were encamped near Satricum, a city of the Volsci. In this war the Romans had the advantage. The confederates, after sustaining some losses, quarrelled among themselves, upon the question, Whether the war should be continued? The Antiates and the rest of the Volsci desired peace; the Latines, obstinately averse to it, separated from them in a rage, which they vented first on Satricum, reducing it to ashes, and sparing only a temple of the goddess Matuta. (This divinity, according to Plutarch, was the same whom the Greeks called Leucothea, or Ino, daughter of Cadmus.) Thence they fell upon the Tusculans, to punish them

Year of  
R O M E.  
CCCLXXVII.  
Bef. J. C.  
Three hundred  
seventy-five.

Forty-fifth  
Mil. Trib.

Livy, B. 6.  
c. 33.

L. ÆMILIUS, a fifth time,

S. Sulpicius, a second time,

P. VALERIUS, a fourth time,

L. QUINCT. CINCINNAT. a second time,

C. VETURIUS,

C. QUINTIUS.

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCLXXVII.  
Bef. J. C.

Three hun-  
dred se-  
venty-five.

Forty-fifth  
Mil. Trib.

for having deserted the Latine confederacy, and accepted the privileges of Roman citizens. They surprised the town, but the inhabitants retired into the citadel, which they held out till they were relieved, probably, by that Roman army which had been kept ready to march upon occasion. The Romans took the place by assault, and the Latines within the walls of it were all cut to pieces, not one escaping.

#### CHAP. IV.

- I. *The lower sort of the people of Rome are overawed and oppressed by the great and the rich ; and the commons in general lose that spirit and courage they formerly had in contending with the nobles. In the midst of this extreme dejection, the vanity of a woman sets three bold and enterprising men at work to raise, by some new laws, the fortune of the plebeians higher than ever. By one of these proposed laws (called afterwards the LICINIAN LAWS) the consulship is to be restored, and, of the two consuls, one is always to be plebeian. The three men, who combine to effect this project, are M. Fabius Ambustus, the lady's father, (a patrician,) C. Licinius Stolo, her husband, a plebeian, and L. Sextius, another plebeian, of great distinction. After ten years struggle with the senate, they carry their point. The prætorship and curule ædileship are instituted. A plague carries off many persons of distinction, among whom is the great CAMILLUS.*

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCLXXVII.  
Bef. J. C.

Three hun-  
dred seven-  
ty-five.

Forty-fifth  
Mil. Trib.

I. A TREATY concluded with the Antiates, and the defeat of the Latines, gave the republic an interval of rest from foreign wars : but as the senators and rich patricians, when they stood in no need of the assistance of the lower sort, never failed to oppress them ; so the more



quietness there was at this time abroad, the more violence and tyranny did they exercise at home towards their plebeian debtors. Multitudes of these being insolvent, were condemned to be bond-slaves\* to their merciless creditors; which melancholy scene so depressed and sunk the spirits not only of the meaner plebeians, but even of the most considerable of that order, that, far from having the courage to stand in competition with the nobles for the military tribuneship, there was not among them all a man of ability and experience, who would sue for or consent to bear even the plebeian magistracies<sup>1</sup>. But now, at this very crisis, when the patricians seemed to have secured to themselves for ever all authority in the state, and to have reduced the commons to a kind of despondent subjection, a trifling accident gave occasion to a wonderful change in

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCLXXVII  
Bef. J. C.  
Three hundred seven-  
ty-five.

Forty-fifth  
Mil. Trib.

Livy, B. 6.  
c. 34.

\* Nexi.

*! Quanto magis prosperis eo anno bellis tranquilla omnia foris erant, tanto in urbe vis patrum indies miseræque plebis crescebant; quum eo ipso, quod necesse erat solvi, facultas solvendi impediretur. Itaque quum jam ex re nihil dari posset, fama & corpore judicati atque addicti creditoribus satisfaciebant, pœnaque in vicem fidei cesserat, Adeo ergo obnoxios summisserant animos, non infimi solum, sed principes etiam plebis, ut non modo ad tribunatum militum inter patricos petendum, quod tanta vi, ut liceret, tetenderant; sed ne ad plebeios quidem magistratus capessendos, petendosque ulli viro acri experientique animus esset: possessionemque honoris usurpati modo à plebe per paucos annos, recuperasse in perpetuum patres viderentur. Ne id nimis lætum parti alteri esset, parva (ut plerumque solet) rem ingentem moliundi causa intervenit. M. Fabii Ambusti, &c.*



Year of  
R. O. M. E.  
CCCLXXVII.  
Bef. J. C.  
Three hun-  
dred seven-  
ty-five.

Forty-fifth  
Mil. Trib.

the face of things: the plebeians on a sudden raised their drooping spirits, and with a dauntless ambition carried their pretensions, and with success too, higher than ever.

II. M. FABIVS AMBUSTVS, a patrician of great credit in both parties, had two daughters, of whom the elder was married to S. Sulpicius, a patrician by birth, and now military tribune; the younger to a rich plebeian, named C. Licinius Stolo. One day when this plebeian's wife was at her sister's house, a lictor who walked before Sulpicius at his return from the senate, thundered at the door (an usual thing) with the staff of the fasces, to give notice that the magistrate was coming. This noise, to which the wife of Licinius had not been accustomed, put her into a fright. Her sister, taking notice of it, could not forbear laughing at her, seeming much to wonder at her ignorance. A very small matter, says Livy, is sufficient to disturb the quiet of a woman's mind. The vanity of the younger Fabia was stung to the quick by her sister's laughing; it made her feel the inequality of their conditions; and her uneasiness did not fail to be increased by the crowd of people that came to pay their court to her sister, and receive her commands. Her father happening to see her while she was yet in the first anguish of her grief, and perceiving by her countenance that something troubled her, kindly asked her what it was, and whether all was well at home. At first he could get no

satisfactory answer from her: she was ashamed to own, either that she envied her sister, or was discontented with her husband. But Fabius continuing, in soft words, to press her to disclose the secret, she at length confessed, that the true cause of her pain was her being married unsuitably to her quality, and into a family incapable of honours and high stations. The father being very fond of his daughter, omitted nothing that could be said to comfort her, promising, “that it should not be long before she saw at home the same honours which she had seen in her sister’s house.” And from this time he began to plot with his son-in-law for the interest of the commons; these two associating in their projects L. Sextius, a young plebeian of capacity and spirit, and who wanted nothing but a nobler birth to qualify him for the highest offices in the republic. The oppression which the poor plebeians laboured under at this time, and from which they could never hope to be freed, but by raising some of their own body to the supreme power, gave a fair occasion to the cabal to attempt an innovation in the government: It was thought expedient, for the easier compassing their designs, that Licinius and Sextius should begin, by getting the plebeian tribuneship, a magistracy that would enable them to open themselves a way to the highest dignities. And when they had carried that first point (which they soon did) they immediately bent all their thoughts and power to put the plebeians, already not inferior to the

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCLXXVII.  
B. of J. C.  
Three hundred  
seventy-five.

Forty-fifth  
Mil. Trib.

Livy, B. 6.  
c. 35.

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCLXXVII.  
Ref. J. C.  
Three hundred  
seventy-five.

Forty-fifth  
Mil. Trib.

nobles in courage and virtue, upon a foot of equality with them in respect of honours too, boldly aiming, not at the military tribuneship, but at the very consulship itself. They proposed a law for suppressing the office of military tribune, restoring the consulate, and requiring that of the two consuls to be annually chosen, one should always be a plebeian. And in order to make the people more eager to pass this law, they tacked it to two others relating to the debts and the conquered lands.

By the first of these two laws there was to be deducted from the capital debt whatever sums had been paid for interest, and the principal was to be discharged in three years, and by three equal payments.

The second was to prohibit any Roman citizen from possessing more than five hundred acres of land. Whatever lands any one held beyond that restriction were to be taken from him, and divided among the poorer citizens.

It is easy to guess, that laws of such weighty import were not to be obtained without violent struggles. Riches and honours, those objects of the most passionate desires of men, were the interests in question. The senators, alarmed and terrified, held public and private councils, but could fall upon no expedient to avert the impending evil, except that of gaining some of the tribunes over to their party; an expedient which in like contests they had formerly employed with success. And now the eight colleagues of Licinius and Sextus were all pre-

App. de  
Bell. Civ.  
B. 1. c. 2.



vailed with to oppose the measures of these two; so that when the projectors of the new laws had convened the tribes to give their voices concerning them, the other tribunes would not so much as suffer the reading of them to the assembly: the word *VETO*, (I forbid) put a stop to all proceedings thereupon. The two tribunes having frequently assembled the people, but still in vain, Sextius, at length, addressing himself to the patricians, said aloud, "Very well; since *INTERCESSION*<sup>2</sup> is always to have so prevailing a power, we shall take care to defend the commons with the very same weapon. Appoint an assembly whenever you please for electing military tribunes; the word *VETO*, which our colleagues now chant in concert so harmoniously, will not then be so pleasing a music to your ears."

III. THESE were no empty menaces; for, the time being come for a new election of curule magistrates, Sextius and Licinius opposed and hindered all proceeding thereto; and being themselves continued in the plebeian tribuneship, they renewed the same opposition for five years successively, so that the republic fell into a kind of anarchy. At length, in the fifth year, a foreign enemy came as it were to the assistance of the senate. The inhabitants of Velitræ, a Roman colony, grown wanton with idleness, and seeing no Roman army on foot, made some incursions on the

\* The term expressing the opposition of the tribunes to any public act.

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCLXXVII.  
Bef. J. C.  
Three hundred seventy-five.

Forty-fifth  
Mil. Trib.

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCLXXVIII.  
CCCLXXX.  
CCCLXXXI.  
CCCLXXXII.  
Bef. J. C.  
Three hundred seventy.

Livy, B. 6.  
c. 36.

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCLXXXII.  
Bef. J. C.  
Three hun-  
dred seven-  
ty.

Forty-sixth  
Mil. Trib.

lands of the republic, and then besieged Tusculum. The Tusculans had long been allies, and had lately been admitted citizens of Rome, so that the plebeians as well as the nobles were ashamed to refuse them assistance. Sextius and Licinius therefore waving their opposition, an assembly was held by an interrex, for electing military tribunes. The choice fell on six patricians, who, after some difficulty in making the levies, marched an army against the enemy, defeated them, raised the siege of Tusculum, and besieged Velitræ: and, this place not being taken when their year drew towards a close, the centuries created six new military tribunes<sup>4</sup> to carry on the siege; and among these, M. Fabius Ambustus\*, the father-in-law of Licinius Stolo. The state of affairs at Rome was now much altered, not only by this promotion of Fabius to the supreme magistracy, but by an increase of strength which the favourers of the new laws had got in the college of tribunes, of whom at this time there were but

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCLXXXIII.  
Bef. J. C.  
Three hun-  
dred sixty-  
nine.

Forty-se-  
venth Mil.  
Trib.

\* A second  
time.

- <sup>3</sup> L. FURIUS, a second time,
- P. VALERIUS, a fifth time,
- A. MANLIUS, a fourth time,
- S. SULPICIUS, a third time,
- C. VALERIUS,
- S. CORNELIUS, a sixth time.
- <sup>4</sup> Q. SERVILIUS, a third time,
- M. CORNELIUS,
- C. VETURIUS, a second time,
- Q. QUINCTIUS CINCINNATUS,
- A. CORNELIUS,
- M. FABIUS.



five who opposed those laws. Licinius and Sextius being thus supported by three of their colleagues, and by a military tribune, pushed their point with more warmth than ever. They were now the seventh year in office, and, by long habit, thoroughly practised in the art of managing the people. In the presence of the multitude they boldly and repeatedly asked the chief men of the senate, “with what assurance they could desire, that the laws should allow them to possess more than five hundred acres of land, when only two acres were allotted to each plebeian? Is it reasonable that every one of you should hold the lands of near three hundred citizens, and that a commoner should hardly have ground enough whereon to build him a small habitation to live in, or sufficient for a burial-place when he dies?”

When by these and such-like doleful words they had stirred up the people to a much greater indignation than they felt themselves, they immediately added, “But how is it possible that any bounds should be set to the avarice of the patricians, or to their oppression of the people, unless the people themselves will provide for their own security, by raising some of their own body to the highest magistracy? Nor will it be sufficient that plebeians be qualified by law to be consuls. They obtained the privilege of standing for the military tribuneship; and yet, in forty-four years<sup>s</sup>, not one of their order

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCLXXXIII  
Bef. J. C.  
Three hun-  
dred sixty-  
nine.

Forty se-  
venth Mil.  
Trib.

Livy, B. 6.  
c. 37.

<sup>s</sup> From the year 309 to 353.



Year of  
R O M E  
CCCLXXXIII  
Bef. J. C.  
Three hun-  
dred sixty-  
nine.

Forty-se-  
venth Mil.  
Trib.

was promoted to that dignity! The number of military tribunes, at their first institution, was ordained to be six, on purpose that the commons might have a share in that magistracy; nevertheless, by the power and influence of the nobles, their just pretensions have been almost constantly defeated. And how much easier will it be for the patricians, when there are but two places to be filled by consuls, to secure them both to themselves? The only remedy is to make it an indispensable law, that there be always ONE plebeian in the consulate. From that very day, and not till then, may the Roman people be deemed to have banished kings from Rome, and to have established liberty on a firm basis: from that very day the plebeians will begin to share in all those things which now give the patricians the pre-eminence over them, power, and honour, military glory, and nobility; they will enjoy great advantages themselves, and transmit them greater to their posterity."

When the tribunes found that these discourses were listened to with pleasure, they proposed a fourth law, "That DECENVIRS be appointed instead of DUUMVIRS, to take care of the Sybilline Books, and to interpret them; and that five of the ten be always PLEBEIAN." However, all proceedings on this, as well as the other proposals, were suspended during the siege of Velitræ, which went on but slowly. The five tribunes in the interest of the senate had urged, that it was but just to wait the

return of the army from before that place, that the soldiers, who made so great a part of the commons, might not be excluded from giving their votes, when such important innovations were on foot.

IV. THE year ending before the return of the army, the republic chose six new governors<sup>6</sup>; but the people continued in the plebeian tribuneship the two authors of the laws in dispute. Sextius and Licinius having once more summoned the people (probably towards the close of the year 384) were now resolved to proceed without any regard to the prohibition of their colleagues.<sup>7</sup> The senate terrified hereat

Year of  
R O M E;  
CCCLXXXIII  
Bef. J. C.  
Three hundred  
sixty-nine.

Forty-seventh Mil.  
Trib.

Year of  
R O M E;  
CCCLXXXIV  
Bef. J. C.  
Three hundred  
sixty-eight.

Forty-eighth Mil.  
Trib.

Livy, B. 6.  
c. 38.

<sup>6</sup> L. QUINCTUS CAPITOLINUS,

SP. SERVILIUS,

S. CORNELIUS, a seventh time,

L. PAPIRIUS CRASSUS,

S. SULPICIUS, a fourth time,

L. VETURIUS.

Father Catrou and Mons. Vertot seem both of them to have mistaken some words of Livy in this part of the story, and by that mistake to have fallen into a perplexity, which has induced the first to suppose a ground of contest between the tribunes, for which he has no authority, and the other to omit the mentioning of any contest at all between them.

Both the French writers relate, that the tribunes were now unanimous upon the affair of the new laws. The passage in Livy, on which I suppose they found themselves, is this: "*Quum tribus vocarentur, nec intercessio collegarum latoribus obstaret, trepidi patres ad duo ultima auxilia, summum imperium summumque ad civem decurrunt.*" The words in italic they understand to mean, that there was no longer any opposition to Sextius and Licinius from their colleagues: whereas the context plainly shows

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCLXXXIV  
Bef. J. C.  
Three hun-  
dred sixty-  
eight.

Forty-  
eighth Mil.  
Trib.

Plut. in  
Camillus,  
p. 149.

Livy, B. 6.  
c. 38.

had recourse to their last experiments, the highest authority and the greatest man. They named CAMILLUS to the dictatorship, this being the fourth time of his being invested with that dignity. His promotion, if we may believe Plutarch, was much against the will of the people, nor was Camillus himself very forward to accept the charge, not caring to exert the dictatorial authority against those who had so often on great occasions reposed their confidence in him, and believing that he was pitched upon out of ill-will, that he might be the instrument to oppress the commons if he succeeded, or, failing, might himself be ruined.

The creation of a dictator did not deter Sextius and Licinius from convening the tribes to give their votes upon the new laws. Ca-

the true meaning of them to be, not that Sextius and Licinius were not opposed by their colleagues, but that they were not hindered by that opposition from proceeding; and it was this that alarmed the senate so much, as to make them name a dictator. That the tribunes were still divided about the new laws, as before, is evident from the words of Livy, which presently follow those above cited: *Quum dictator, stipatus agmine patriciorum, plenus iræ minarumque consedisset, atque ageretur res solito primum certamine inter se tribunorum plebi ferentium legem intercedentiumque; et quanto jure potentior intercessio erat, tantum vinceretur favore legum ipsarum, latorumque, &c.*

Father Catrou, not to be inconsistent with himself, conjectures that some of the tribunes opposed the proceedings of the rest at this juncture, not because they disapproved of the laws in question, but out of respect for the dictator then present, *Sans doute par respect pour le dictateur*; that they were unanimous concerning the justice of passing the laws, and differed only as to the time.



millus, full of anger and indignation, and attended by a great body of the patricians, repaired to the assembly, and there seated himself in his tribunal. After the usual conflict between the legislating and the interceding tribunes, and when, in spite of the VETO of the latter, the former, supported by the people's favour, went on to take the suffrages of the assembly, and the first tribes had already voted for the laws, the dictator, rising up, declared, "that he was come to support the privileges of the commons; and that he would never suffer one part of the tribunes to deprive the other of their right of opposition." Sextius and Licinius laughed at this artful speech, and continued to take the votes. The dictator hereupon, in great wrath, sent his lictors to drive the people out of the Forum; threatening at the same time, that, if they offered to proceed to law-making, he would summon them to the Campus Martius, oblige them to list, and to march into the field. His menaces, while they put the commons into a fright, seemed to raise the courage of the two tribunes. For these preferred a bill, and engaged the commons to pass it into a law, that, in case M. Furius Camillus made use of his dictatorial power to obstruct the enacting of the laws in dispute, he should pay a fine of 500,000 asses of brass<sup>8</sup>. Camillus, presently after, either in-

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCLXXXIV  
Bef. J. C.  
Three hun-  
dred sixty-  
eight.

Forty-  
eighth Mil.  
Trib.

Plut. p. 150.

<sup>8</sup> Or 50,000 drachmæ: i. e. 1614*l.* 11*s.* 8*d.* *Arbuthnot.*  
The Greek drachma was in value the same as the Ro-  
man denarius, that is, seven-pence three farthings English.

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCLXXXIV  
Bef. J. C.  
Three hun-  
dred sixty-  
eight.

Forty-  
eighth Mil.  
Trib.

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCLXXXV.  
Bef. J. C.  
Three hun-  
dred sixty-  
seven.

Liv. B. 6,  
c. 39.

timidated by this plebiscitum, or (as Livy is inclined to think<sup>9</sup>) having discovered, that there had been some defect in the ceremony of taking the auspices, when he was created dictator, abdicated his supreme magistracy.

V. THE senate in this nice conjuncture not knowing how to act without a dictator, whose authority might be a curb upon the tribunes, named P. Manlius to succeed Camillus in that dignity.

Livy tells us, that during a sort of interregnum, which there was between these two dictatorships, Sextius and Licinius held an assembly of the people, and proposed their laws anew; and that they might have obtained the passing of those two which related to land and usury, if those would have satisfied them: but that they refusing to separate the laws, and requiring the people to give their voices upon all at the same time, the assembly could not be brought to pass that law which related to the consulate.

<sup>9</sup> Livy gives several reasons for his believing that it was not fear which made Camillus resign the dictatorship. 1. The character of the man. 2. The senate's appointing another dictator to succeed him; which they would not have done, if the dictatorial authority had proved impotent in his hands. 3. Camillus's accepting of the same office again not long after, and while the three laws were still in dispute; which he would have been ashamed to do, had he been so lately overpowered in the exercise of it. 4. At the time when the bill, for imposing the fine, is said to have been preferred, he had power to hinder its passing into a law, or he could not have hindered the passing of those, for the sake of which this was preferred.

The new dictator Manlius presently discovered himself to be a favourer of the commons, by naming a plebeian, C. Licinius (not Licinius Stolo the tribune) for his general of the horse. Such a nomination was without example, but he endeavoured to justify himself to the senate by alleging, that Licinius was his near kinsman, and that the dignity of general of the horse was not greater than that of military tribune, which latter Licinius had heretofore enjoyed. [This shows, that in the confusions of a state, mutual fidelity between the members of a party is not much to be depended upon, because of the private ties there are among citizens of the same city, though of opposite parties.]

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCLXXXV.  
Bef. J. C.  
Three hundred sixty-seven.

Vertot.

When the election of tribunes came on, the method they took in order to get themselves continued in office, was to pretend that they would no longer serve. They represented to the people, that they were grown old in the tribuneship to no purpose, and that, after struggling nine years with the senate for the good of the commons, the only recompense they had met with for their services was neglect and ingratitude: "You would very gladly be freed from the oppression of usury, and you are very eager to have your share of the conquered lands; but when the question is, to promote the honour of your tribunes, by whose labours and zeal you are to obtain those benefits, you show nothing but coldness and indifference. Is it consistent with modesty for



Year of  
R O M E  
CCCLXXXV.  
Bef. J. C.  
Three hun-  
dred sixty-  
seven.



you to ask these advantages by our means, while you resolve to leave us afterwards, not only without honour, but without hopes of honour? To be plain then, the laws we have proposed are inseparable. If you are willing to pass them conjointly, you may then choose us again into the tribuneship; but if you are determined to reject that which relates to the consulate, be assured that we will no longer serve, nor shall you get those passed which concern usury and the conquered lands."

Livy, B. 6.  
c. 40. &  
seq.

All the patricians in the assembly were struck dumb with amazement at this open and resolute declaration, except Appius Claudius (grandson of the decemvir). Appius, not moved by any hope of influencing the assembly, but by anger and indignation, stepped forth and made a long and warm speech, full of invectives against the two tribunes, "those TARQUINS," as he called them, "the years of whose perpetual tyranny were regularly numbered, as the years of the kings were formerly in the capitol." And he expatiated on the insolence of declaring, "That the commons should not be free to pass such laws as they approved, unless they would at the same time pass others which they did not approve, nor think to be for the public benefit."

c. 4.

Appius's harangue had no other effect, than to delay for a while the publication of the laws proposed. The two authors of them were chosen the tenth time into the tribuneship; and it is probable, that the multitude being afraid

of losing such able and zealous defenders, engaged themselves to follow their directions implicitly.

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCLXXXV.  
Bef. J. C.  
Three hun-  
dred sixty-  
seven.

Not long after their re-election into power, they obtained the passing of that law which had been last preferred, and which related to the guardianship of the Sybil's books. The commons, content for the present with this victory, suffered six patricians to be created military tribunes<sup>10</sup> for the next year, without mentioning any thing of the consulate.

VI. IN the beginning of the new administration, sudden advice coming, that a cloud of Gauls<sup>11</sup> from the coasts of the Adriatic was advancing towards Rome, the danger, common to all, united the voices of all to raise Camillus (now the fifth time) to the dictatorship. This great man, though near fourscore, yet considering the peril the state was in, did not now plead infirmity, as he formerly had done, to decline the charge, but readily undertook it, and listed his soldiers. And knowing that the force of the barbarians lay chiefly in their great swords, with which they laid about them in a

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCLXXXVI  
Bef. J. C.  
Three hun-  
dred sixty-  
six.

Forty-ninth  
Mil. Trib.  
Plut. in  
Camillus,  
p. 150.

- <sup>10</sup> A. CORNELIUS, a second time,  
L. VETURIUS, a second time,  
M. CORNELIUS, a second time,  
P. VALERIUS, a sixth time,  
M. GEGANIUS,  
P. MANLIUS, a second time.

<sup>11</sup> Plutarch tells us, that the Romans feared the Gauls so much, that in a law they made to excuse priests from military service, there was an exception to the case of an invasion from the Gauls.

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCLXXXVI  
Bef. J. C.  
Three hun-  
dred sixty-  
six.

Forty-ninth  
Mil. Trib.  
Livy, B. 6.  
c. 42.

rude unskilful manner, hacking and hewing the head and shoulders, he caused iron helmets to be made for most of his men, smoothing and polishing the outside so, that the enemies' swords lighting upon them, might either slide off or be broken; and round about their shields he drew a rim of iron, the wood itself not being strong enough to sustain the blows. The two armies came to a battle in the territory of Alba. The Roman soldiers, ever since their defeat at the river Allia, had retained a fear of the Gauls; nevertheless, Camillus, without much difficulty, obtained a complete victory.

After this success he led his army to attack Velitræ (the siege of which had been interrupted), but the city surrendered to him without resistance. He then returned to Rome, where the honours of a triumph were decreed him by the senate and commons.

VII. THE people returning home elated with victory, were more obstinately bent than ever on passing the three laws, so long disputed. On the other hand, the senate, equally obstinate in their opposition, would not suffer Camillus to lay down his dictatorship, thinking that under the shelter of his great name and absolute authority they should be better able to contend with their adversaries. Plutarch reports, that one day when the dictator was sitting on his tribunal in the Forum despatching public business, an officer, sent by the tribunes, commanded him to rise and follow him, laying his hand upon him at the same



time, as if he meant to drag him away by force. Never was a greater uproar or tumult in the Forum than on this occasion; the patricians who surrounded Camillus driving back the officer, and the multitude from below bawling out, "Pull him down, pull him down." Camillus, though greatly at a loss what to do in this exigence, yet would not resign his authority: guarded by the senators, he retired with them to the senate-house; but, before he entered it, turned towards the capitol, and besought the gods to put an end to these commotions, vowing to build a temple to CONCORD, if union might be restored among his fellow-citizens.

After warm debates in the senate about the measures proper to be taken, it was at length resolved to comply with the people's desires, and to accept the three laws in question, as the only means to procure domestic peace.

The commons having thus obtained the victory over the nobles, the *comitia* were held for electing consuls, and then L. SEXTIUS the plebeian tribune was chosen colleague in that dignity to L. Æmilius Mamercinus a patrician. Nevertheless, when the election of Sextius should have been confirmed by the senate, the conscript fathers absolutely refused to do it; and the new disputes on this occasion between the two parties rose to such a height, that the plebeians were just ready to leave Rome, and make a new SECESSION, when the dictator proposed an expedient for a reconciliation. Hitherto the dispensing of justice in the city had


Year of  
R O M E  
ccclxxxv.  
Bef. J. C.  
Three hundred sixty-six.

Forty-ninth  
Mil. Trib.

Plut. in  
Camillus,  
p. 152.

Livy, B. 6.  
c. 42.

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCLXXXVI.  
Bef. J. C.  
Three hun-  
dred sixty-  
six.

  
Forty-ninth  
Mil. Trib.

been a branch of the consular office, but to which the consuls could not always attend, being commonly during the summer in the field at the head of armies. Camillus's proposal was to separate this function from the consulate, and to create a judge with the title of PRÆTOR, to whom it should be appropriated; and he advised the senate to suffer that one consul might be annually chosen out of the plebeians, on condition that the prætor should be always a patrician. This motion being approved by both parties, the senate confirmed the election of Sextius, and the centuries created the son of Camillus prætor<sup>12</sup>.

Livy, B. 6.  
c. 42.

VIII. TRANQUILLITY being thus established, the Romans, in gratitude to the gods, ordered the great games to be celebrated. These used formerly to last but three days, but now a fourth day<sup>13</sup> was added; and on this account their name of *ludi magni* was changed into *ludi maximi*. It happened that the present ædiles (for what reason is unknown) refused to take upon them the care of making preparations for this festival; upon which the young patricians cried out, "That since the affair in question was the worship of the gods, they

<sup>12</sup> The prætorship was the second dignity in the commonwealth; and the prætor had the prætexta, the curule chair, and two lictors, who bearing fasces, walked before him. The provincial prætors, created in after-times, were allowed six lictors. C. & R.

<sup>13</sup> Plutarch says, that this fourth day was added to the *Feriæ Latinæ*.

should think it no dishonour to be employed in it, provided they might be appointed *ÆDILES*." Accordingly the people, at the motion of the dictator, created a new office in favour of the patricians. It was called the curule *ædile*-ship, because these *ædiles* (two in number) had the honour of the curule chair, which the plebeian *ædiles* had not. The business was to take care of the temples, theatres, games, markets, tribunals of justice, and the repair of the city walls, and also to see that no novelty was introduced into religion; in aftertimes they had likewise the inspection over books that were published, and pieces written for the stage.

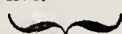
Notwithstanding some alarms, caused by a report, that the Gauls, who had dispersed themselves in Apulia, were again got together, and that the Hernici threatened a rebellion, the senate were unwilling to enter upon a war under the administration of a plebeian consul, lest the glory he might acquire, should rebound to the honour of his whole party; so that all continued quiet both abroad and at home, excepting that the tribunes of the commons expressed their discontent to see, that for one plebeian consul granted to the commons, the nobles had got three new curule magistrates. The senate hereupon were prevailed with to consent, that the curule *ædiles* should be chosen out of the plebeians every second year; and afterwards they left the people at full liberty to choose them every year out of either body.

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCLXXXVI  
Bef. J. C.  
Three hun-  
dred sixty-  
six,



Forty-ninth  
Mil. Trib.

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCLXXXVII  
Bef. J. C.  
Three hun-  
dred sixty-  
five.



Eighty-  
ninth Con-  
sulship.

Livy, B. 7.  
c. 1.



Year of  
R O M E  
CCCLXXXVIII.  
Bef. J. C.  
Three hun-  
dred sixty-  
four.

Ninetieth  
Consulship.  
Oros. B. 3.  
c. 4.

Livy, B. 7.  
c. 2.

IX. ROME after these establishments continued at rest, both from foreign wars and intestine divisions, under the new consuls L. Genucius a plebeian, and Servilius Ahala a patrician. But it seems to have been the fate of the city never to be in perfect tranquillity: a pestilential sickness spread itself on a sudden, when nobody could account for it. It could not be ascribed to the irregularity of the seasons. The winter had not been extraordinary dry, nor had the cold weather been too suddenly succeeded by an immoderate heat; nor had the summer been too rainy; nor had the autumnal fruits, for want of sufficient maturity, caused indigestions: nor, lastly, had the Calabrian wind blown any dangerous and unwholesome air to Rome. This plague swept away, together with great numbers of the people, some of the magistrates; one censor, one curule ædile, and three tribunes of the commons: but what made it most memorable, was the death of the great Camillus, who, though full of years, was more regretted, says Plutarch, than the whole multitude of those who died of the same disease.

## CHAP. V.

I. *The Romans have recourse to various expedients for putting a stop to the plague. The filial piety of the son of L. Manlius Imperiosus.* II. *The earth opens on a sudden in the midst of the Forum, and continues open, to the great terror of the city. M. Curtius, a young patrician, leaps into the gulf completely armed and on horseback.* III. *The consul Genucius, the FIRST PLEBEIAN Rome had ever placed at the head of an army, unfortunately conducts the war against the Hernici, his legions are routed, and he himself slain.* IV. *The Gauls advance within three miles of Rome, encamping on the banks of the Anio. Young Manlius in single combat slays the mightiest champion of the Gauls, a man of a gigantic stature; which so discourages them, that they leave their camp in the night and in confusion. The next year the Gauls appear again in the neighbourhood of Rome; but are routed and driven thence by the Romans. The consuls make war with success against the Tyburtes and the Hernici.*

IN the year of Rome 389, C. Sulpicius and C. Licinius Stolo took possession of the consulship. The latter was that famous Licinius (son-in-law to Fabius Ambustus) who jointly with his colleague Sextius had contrived the three laws, and at the end of ten years, during which he had been tribune of the commons, had obtained the publication of them. And now the promise Fabius had made to his younger daughter was fulfilled, and she had the pleasure of seeing the lictors with their fasces march before her plebeian husband, and of hearing them thunder at her gate.

Year of  
R O M E  
ccclxxxix.  
Bef. J. C.  
Three hun-  
dred sixty-  
three.

Ninety-first  
Consulship.

Year of  
R O M E  
ccclxxxix.  
Bef. J. C.  
Three hun-  
dred sixty-  
three.

Ninety-first  
Consulship.  
Livy, B. 7.  
c. 2.

Val. Max.  
B. 2. c. 1.

The plague still continuing, the Romans to put a stop to it had recourse to their old superstition of the lectisternium. But this proved ineffectual ; and they endeavoured therefore to avert the anger of the gods by a new institution to their honour. Hitherto Rome had no other public sports but those of the circus, that is to say, races and wrestling, which were very proper exercises for so warlike a people. But now they introduced a new sort of shows, which at first were innocent, but afterwards became indecent, and had a natural tendency to corrupt men's manners. These shows were called *scenici*, because they were represented on a scene, that is, a stage built in the shade. The performers, who were brought to Rome from *Hetruria*<sup>1</sup>, danced to the flute, and kept time with

<sup>1</sup> The *Hetrurian* word which signified a player or dancer, was *hister* ; and hence the name of *histrions*, given by the Romans to all stage-players. The first speakers on the stage fell into the vicious taste of the *Fescennini*, a people of *Hetruria*, who threw coarse and unpremeditated jests at one another. These were soon succeeded by *satires* written in verse, and set to the flute ; which *satires* were repeated with suitable gestures. And some years after, *Livius Andronicus*, who acted his own pieces, turned the *satires* into regular plays, and confined himself in his compositions to one uniform matter. But he was called upon so often to repeat his plays, that he at last became hoarse, and lost his voice. Hereupon he got the people's consent, that a young man should sing for him, whilst he only accompanied the verses with proper gestures ; and then his action soon became more perfect, when his attention was no longer divided between singing and acting. When these theatrical pieces were thus brought into form, the farces, which had made people laugh, were despised and



their motions and gestures; but their entries had no manner of relation one to another; neither were the dances accompanied with any verses or discourses in these early times.

This kind of comedy being performed in a part of the circus near the banks of the Tiber, and the river happening to overflow at this time, the people concluded, that the new remedy they had invented to appease the gods would be ineffectual. However, as they themselves had been agreeably amused, they did not lay aside the entertainments of the scene.

In the following consulship of L. Æmilius\* and Cn. Genucius, the plague not ceasing, the Romans bethought themselves of an old religious ceremony which, according to tradition, had succeeded in the like cases. This was the driving of a nail by a dictator into the wall of the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus,

neglected. Nevertheless, the Roman youth revived them, and acted them at the end of their serious pieces. When the professed actors had finished their parts, some young Romans came upon the stage masked, and began to repeat merry verses, as formerly, but such as were free from obscenity. These pieces, which were a sort of composition between satires and regular plays, had their first rise in Atella, a city in Campania, and were called *exodia*, that is, verses not belonging to the play. The Romans borrowed them from the Osci, a people of Campania. But the Roman youth never suffered the professed actors to bear any part in their *exodia*, lest they should dishonour them. The persons who acted these pieces were not liable to the penalties to which the *histriones* were subject; their names were not blotted out of the roll of the tribes in which they had been incorporated; nor were they excluded from military services, as infamous persons. C. and R.

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCLXXXIX.  
Bef. J. C.  
Three hundred sixty-three.

Ninety-first  
Consulship.  
Livy, B. 7.  
c. 2.

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCXC.  
Bef. J. C.  
Three hundred sixty-two.

Ninety-second  
Consulship.

\* A second  
time.

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCXC.  
Bef. J. C.  
Three hun-  
dred sixty-  
two.

Ninety-se-  
cond Con-  
sulship.

Livy, B. 7.  
c. 3.

on the side next Minerva's sanctuary, which was under the same roof. This goddess was deemed the inventress of numbers; and the Romans used to number the years of their state by nails. Livy tells us, that there was a law written in antique characters and obsolete words, and fixed up in the chapel of Minerva; importing, that the chief prætor for the time being should on the ides of September DRIVE THE NAIL. (When this law was made, the Romans were perhaps unacquainted with the numeral letters.) The same author adds, that the consul Horatius, who dedicated the temple of Jupiter the year after the expulsion of Tarquin, performed at the same time the ceremony of driving the nail, which function was afterwards transferred from the consuls to the dictators, as magistrates of greater dignity and power: and that the custom having been discontinued, it was now thought a matter of sufficient importance for which a dictator should be expressly created.

T. Manlius was the person named to the dictatorship. It is likely that the plague, which had lasted three years, ceased about this time, because Livy makes no further mention of it. But Manlius being dissatisfied to have the whole business of his office confined to a religious ceremony, and it being believed that the Hernici were preparing to shake off the Roman yoke, he laid hold of this pretext to continue himself in power. He ordered troops to be raised, and even used violence to make the citizens enlist themselves. However, the

tribunes of the people opposed his design, repelled force with force, and at length obliged him to abdicate. And the consuls for the new year, Q. Servilius\* and L. Genucius†, were no sooner in office, than he was cited by Pomponius, one of the tribunes, to answer before the people for the violence and cruelty which he had exercised towards the citizens. But nothing was so much detested as his cruel nature, and the surname of Imperiosus (intolerable in a free city) which he had acquired by his excessive severity, shown no less to his own blood and kindred than to strangers. For the tribunes, among other things, accused him of inhumanly and barbarously treating one of his own sons for no just cause, and merely upon account of some natural defects. This son of Manlius, named Titus, had an impediment in his speech, and was besides of slow parts; and for these reasons only, his father had confined him to the country, where he made him work like one of his slaves.

Manlius had a copy of his accusation given him, and twenty-seven days to prepare for his defence. All were highly exasperated against him, except the son himself, who hearing of what passed, and not being able to endure the thought that he too should furnish matter of accusation against his father; and to the end that gods and men might know how far he was from wishing to give his father's enemies any assistance; he resolved upon a most extraordinary method to deliver him, a method (as

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCXCI.  
Bef. J. C.  
Three hun-  
dred sixty-  
one.

Ninety-  
third Con-  
sulship.

\* A second  
time.


† A second  
time.

Livy, B. 7.  
c. 4.

Cic. Off.  
B. 5.  
Liv. B. 7.  
c. 5.



Year of  
R O M E  
CCCXCI.  
Bef. J. C.  
Three hun-  
dred sixty-  
one.

  
Ninety-  
third Con-  
sulship.

Livy observes) suitable to his rustic education and character, but laudable for the filial piety that inspired it. Early in the morning he privately and alone left the village to which he had been banished, came to Rome, nor stopped till he arrived at the door of Pomponius the tribune, who was not yet up. He sent him word, that the son of Manlius desired to speak with him about an affair that would admit of no delay. The tribune believing that the young man was come either to thank him for the concern he had taken in his misfortunes, or perhaps to discover to him some new proofs of his father's tyrannical temper, ordered him to be brought in. Manlius, as soon as they had saluted each other, desired to speak with him in private without witnesses; upon which every body present was ordered to retire. Then the young man drawing out a poniard, and standing over the tribune, threatened to run him through, if he did not immediately and solemnly swear to desist from the prosecution of his father. Pomponius was too much terrified not to swear whatever the other pleased to dictate; and he excused himself afterwards to the people for his dropping the prosecution, by alleging the oath which had been extorted from him. The people were not displeased at the bold enterprise of a son in favour of a father, which was the more laudable, inasmuch as the father's hard usage of his son had not been able to lessen his filial piety. So that not only the father was discharged, but the affair ended much to the ho-

Val. Max.  
B. 5. c. 4.

nour of young Manlius, who the same year was promoted, by the suffrages of the people, to one of the most important posts in the army. Every Roman legion was commanded by six legionary tribunes, and these officers had been hitherto left to the choice of the generals ; but this year the people thought fit to elect part of them in the *comitia*. Of twenty-four legionary tribunes, appointed at this time, the people chose six, and T. Manlius was named the second of the six. We shall soon see him by his merit surmount all the disadvantages of his education.

II. THE same year a very extraordinary accident threw the city into a consternation. The ground, perhaps by the violence of an earthquake, opened to a great breadth and depth in the midst of the Forum, and continued gaping in a frightful manner. Neither could this chasm be filled up by throwing abundance of earth into it, wherein the citizens laboured with great diligence. The augurs being consulted hereupon, told them, “ That their purpose would never be effected, until that thing, wherein the strength and power of the Roman people chiefly consisted, were dedicated and devoted to that place, and that such a sacrifice would secure the eternal duration of the Roman state.” Great consultation there was, and much doubt, concerning the meaning of this oracle. At length M. Curtius, a patrician, a brave young man, reproving the stupidity of his fellow-citizens, asked them,

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCXCI.  
Bef. J. C.  
Three hun-  
dred sixty-  
one.

Ninety-  
third Con-  
sulship.

Livy, B. 7.  
c. 6.  
Val. Max.  
B. 5.  
Oros. B. 3.  
S. Austin.  
de Civitate  
Dei, B. 5.

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCXCI.  
Bef. J. C.  
Three hun-  
dred sixty-  
one.

Ninety-  
third Con-  
sulship.

how they could doubt whether Rome had any thing more valuable than arms and valour? Having armed himself completely, and mounted a horse richly caparisoned, he came to the Forum, where the people were assembled in crowds. While they stood silent with wonder and expectation, he turned his eyes, one while to the capitol, and then to the pit, and having adored the celestial and infernal gods, and devoted himself to death for his country, he leaped at once horse and man into the gulf. The people, both men and women, threw in after him great quantities of corn, fruit, and other oblations; and it is probable that with these, and afterwards with earth and rubbish, the hole was quite filled up. But some authors fabulously report, that the ground immediately closed upon Curtius's precipitating himself into the opening.

III. AFTER this expiation, the Romans unanimously resolved to turn their arms against the Hernici, who had made depredations in the territory of Rome, and had refused the satisfaction demanded by the heralds of the republic. The conduct of the war fell by lot to Genucius, the first plebeian consul that was ever intrusted with the command of an army; and both parties were very anxious about the success of his expedition, because according to the event it would be judged whether the republic had done well to admit plebeians to share in the consular dignity. It happened unluckily for the commons, that Genucius

Val. Max.  
B. 5. c. 6.

Livy, B. 7.  
c. 6.



proved unsuccessful in the campaign. He fell into an ambush, his legions were routed, and he himself killed. The patricians did not fail to take advantage of this accident. They exclaimed in all places, that the misfortunes of Rome were owing to the vengeance of the gods, who had been despised. That the commons might indeed, by force of a law, deprive the nobles of their birthright, and transfer the auspices to those who could not take them without impiety; but that no such law would prevail against the immortal gods, whose anger at the profanation of their rites was sufficiently declared by the defeat of the army, and the death of its commander.

Servilius, the surviving consul, with the approbation of the senate, named to the dictatorship Appius Claudius, the man who had the most distinguished himself in the opposition made to the new law complained of. While Appius was raising a second army at Rome, the Hernici, flushed with their success, advanced to attack the camp of the Romans under the command of C. Sulpicius, who had been lieutenant to Genucius, and had since that general's defeat collected his scattered troops. The Romans courageously sallied out of their intrenchments, and repulsed the enemy. Appius soon after arrived with his new levies, and having rewarded the bravery of the lieutenant and his soldiers with praises, prepared for a general battle.

On the other hand, the Hernici, in order to

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCXCI.  
Ref. J. C.  
Three hun-  
dred sixty-  
one.

Ninety-  
third Con-  
sulship.

Livy, B. 6.  
c. 7.

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCXCI.  
Bef. J. C.  
Three hun-  
dred sixty-  
one.

Ninety-  
third Con-  
sulship.

preserve the advantage they had gained over Genucius, exhausted their whole country of men to reinforce their army; and, among the multitude of their soldiers, chose out three thousand two hundred, whom they divided into eight cohorts, of four hundred each. These were the flower of their army, and made a separate corps, that their valour might be the more conspicuous; and to engage them to behave themselves bravely, their generals honoured them with marks of distinction, promised them double pay, and exempted them from all the drudgery of military service. In the general action, which soon followed, when the Roman knights had made several efforts in vain to disorder the enemy's battalions, and when with permission of their general they had dismounted, and placed themselves in the first line of the foot, the eight chosen cohorts made head against them, so that the flower of both nations came now to a close engagement. The victory was a long time doubtful, and it seemed to be only the better fortune of the Romans which determined it in their favour. However, they lost a fourth part of their army, and a great number of knights. Appius had no triumph granted him, which can be imputed to nothing but the unwillingness of the people to do honour to the most declared enemy of the plebeian party.

Livy, B. 7.  
c. 8.

c. 9.

IV. AND now, notwithstanding the misfortune of Genucius, and the murmurs of the nobility, the centuries made no scruple to choose

a consul out of the plebeians for the next year. C. Licinius Calvus Stolo was elected a second time; and with him was joined C. Sulpicius, surnamed Peticus. Under these generals the Romans advanced into the country of the Hernici, and finding no enemy in the field, laid siege to Ferentinum. This place having surrendered, they took the road to Rome; but when they came to Tybur, they found the gates shut against them. There had been frequently misunderstandings between the republic and the Tyburtes, but now it was war declared; and the Romans, perhaps believing that the Tyburtes could not have the confidence to think of coping with the republic, unless encouraged by some secret intelligence with the Gauls, who were in motion, thought proper, as in time of imminent danger, to name a dictator. T. Quinctius Pennus was the person nominated to that dignity; and he appointed S. Cornelius to be his general of the horse.

The apprehensions of the republic were not groundless. The Cisalpine Gauls having taken arms again to revenge their defeat, came and encamped three miles from Rome, near one of the bridges of the Anio. The Romans, under the command of the dictator, immediately advanced to meet them. Nothing but the river parted the two armies, and neither party endeavoured to break down the bridge, lest it should seem to argue fear. This bridge became the scene of many combats between the champions of the two armies. One day a Gaul of a gigantic size advanced upon the bridge,

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCCXII.  
Bef. J. C.  
Three hun-  
dred sixty.

Ninety-  
fourth Con-  
sulship.



Year of  
R O M E  
CCCXCH.  
Bef. J. C.  
Three hun-  
dred sixty.

Ninety-  
fourth Con-  
sulship.  
Livy, B. 7.  
c. 10.

and challenged the stoutest of the enemy to single combat. His extraordinary stature struck such a terror into the bravest of the Romans, that not one of them, for a long time, durst enter the lists against him. Young Manlius alone, who had so remarkably signalized his piety to his father, thought he had found a danger worthy of his valour. He went to the dictator, and asked permission of him to encounter the Gaul. "For," said he, "though I were sure of victory, I would never fight out of my rank without your command; but if you will give me leave, I will show that huge beast, that I am descended of the same family which drove the Gauls headlong from the capitol." "Go, Manlius," answered the dictator, "and be as courageous for the glory of thy country, as thou wast for the defence of thy father." The two champions came soon to an engagement. Manlius had for this combat chosen a short sword, made both for cutting and stabbing, and artfully getting within the long one of his enemy, gave him two stabs, and laid him breathless on the ground. The Gaul had a collar\* about his neck, which Manlius took from him, and put it about his own, in token of victory; and hence it was that he got the surname of Torquatus, which descended to his posterity. The event of this single combat seemed to the Gauls so bad an omen for the rest of the war, that they abandoned their camp in the night, and dispersed themselves in Campania. Nor could they well have retired to their own country without the assistance of the

\* In Latin  
Torquis.

Tyburtes, who furnished them with provisions.

This people had too openly declared against the republic to be suffered to go unpunished; and so soon therefore as the consuls for the new year, M. Fabius Ambustus and C. Poetilius Libo, entered upon their office, levies were made at Rome to chastise them. Poetilius conducted this war, while Fabius marched against the Hernici, who persisted in their revolt. The republic was at this time destitute of all assistance from abroad. The very Latines, formerly so attached to her, stood absolutely neuter. In the meantime, the Gauls ventured to advance again to the very neighbourhood of Rome, and blocked up the gate Collina. To make head against these dangerous enemies, the republic named Servilius Ahala dictator, without recalling either of the consuls. Servilius came to an engagement with the Gauls, under the very walls of Rome, where the Romans fighting within sight of their fathers, wives, and children, were irresistible. The Gauls fled towards Tybur, and being favoured by the Tyburtes, who made a sally to facilitate their retreat, entered it, notwithstanding the opposition of Poetilius, who attacked them in their flight. Poetilius, nevertheless, obtained a triumph, while his colleague Fabius, who had fought with success against the Hernici, had only an ovation. The dictator, who had most deserved a triumph, declined that honour, and laid down his dictatorship.

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCXCIII.  
Bef. J. C.  
Three hundred fifty-nine.

Ninety-fifth  
Consulship.  
Livy, B. 7.  
c. 11.

## CHAP. VI.

I. *A domestic sedition, which is soon quelled. An incursion of the Tyburtes, who are soon repulsed. The commencement of a new war against Rome by the Tarquinienses.* II. *The Gauls appear on a sudden in the plains of Præneste. C. Sulpicius, named dictator, with an army, strengthened by the Latines, marches against them. By the help of a new stratagem he obtains a complete victory. The Hernici and the Tarquinienses are vanquished by the Romans.* III. *Two new tribes are formed. A law is passed against openly canvassing for votes. Another fixing the legal interest of money at one per cent. per month. Licinius Stolo, author of the law against any man's possessing more than five hundred acres of land, is convicted of a breach of it. A law is passed against holding the comitia in any place but Rome.* IV. *The Falisci and Tarquinienses having engaged all Etruria to take part with them against Rome, C. Marcius Rutilus, the PLEBEIAN consul of the last year, is named DICTATOR by Popilius, the PLEBEIAN consul of this, to the great displeasure of the nobles. He obtains a complete victory over the enemy, and has a triumph in spite of the opposition of the senate. Two patricians are chosen to the consulate, contrary to the intent of one of the Licinian laws, and the custom for eleven years past. The next year the fasces are again in the hands of two patricians; and likewise the year following. T. Manlius (who had never been CONSUL) is named DICTATOR, to conduct an army against the Cærites.*

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCXCIV.  
Bef. J C.  
Three hun-  
dred fifty-  
eight.

Ninety-  
sixth Con-  
sulship.

I. THE Tyburtes made a jest of Poetilius's triumph, and threatened to be soon again at the gates of Rome. This made the Romans sensible, that these enemies were neither conquered nor humbled; and the new consuls therefore, M. Popilius Lænas and Cn. Manlius Imperiosus, would probably have led an army



into the territory of Tybur, if they had not been hindered by a sudden rising in the city, of the people against the senate. Popilius was pontifex to the goddess Carmenta, as well as consul, and was just offering a sacrifice, when he received the news of the commotion. He ran from the altar in his pontifical robe to the place where the people were assembled, and by his influence put a stop to the sedition. And because the robe he then wore was Læna, he thence got the name of Lænas. But Popilius was very soon obliged to assume the soldier. A handful of Tyburtes, out of a bravado, and to make good their late threatenings, came in the dead of the night to the very gates of Rome, and alarmed the city. The two consuls, as soon as it was day, marched out with their troops at different gates, and easily repulsed these bold enterprisers, whose attempt served only to re-establish tranquillity in Rome, and totally extinguish the sedition.

In this same year the Tarquinienses, a people of Hetruria, entered the Roman territory in arms; nevertheless the Romans postponed their revenge till they had chosen new consuls.

II. THE persons elected were C. Fabius Ambustus and C. Plautius Proculus. The hostilities of the Tarquinienses were soon followed by a new alarm from the Boii, who appeared on a sudden in the plain of Præneste, and advanced as far as Pedom. But in the midst of these distresses of the republic, the Latines (for what reason is uncertain) very seasonably

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCXCIV.  
Bef. J. C.  
Three hundred fifty-eight.

Ninety-sixth Consulship.

Livy, B. 7.  
c. 12.  
Cic. in Brut.

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCXCV.  
Bef. J. C.  
Three hundred fifty-seven.

Ninety-seventh Consulship.

Livy, B. 7.  
c. 12, 13, 14.

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCXCV.  
Bef. J. C.  
Three hun-  
dred fifty-  
seven.

Ninety-se-  
venth Con-  
sulship.  
Appian in  
Celtic.

renewed their ancient treaty of alliance with Rome, and furnished her with the same quota of men as formerly. With this reinforcement she was in a condition to make head against all her enemies. C. Sulpicius was named dictator to conduct the war against the Gauls. With the best legions of the consular armies, strengthened by the Latin auxiliaries, he took the field, and met the enemy. Both armies were very ardent to engage; but the dictator restrained the impetuosity of his troops, thinking it better policy not to run the hazard of a battle, since the Gauls must necessarily be distressed for want of provisions, having prepared no magazines, and being no longer supplied by the Latines. The soldiers however did not enter into their general's views, and universally murmured against him, as a timorous commander of brave men. They came in crowds to the dictator's quarters, and demanded access to him, having named Sextius Tullius (a man of distinguished courage, and who for seven years past had been first captain of the first corps in the army) to be their speaker. Sulpicius was surprised to find himself surrounded by a number of mutineers, and especially to see Sextius at their head, whom he had thought an unblameable officer. Sextius, in the name of the army, reproached him with the disadvantageous opinion he seemed to have entertained of the valour of his troops, and urged him to lead them to the enemy. His speech to the dictator was followed by the acclama-

tions of the multitude, who all cried out for leave to arm and march to battle. Sulpicius found himself under a necessity of promising to comply with their desires; but then, taking Sextius aside, he asked him, "What it was that had put him at the head of a faction?" The brave centurion replied, "That it was not any want of respect to his general, or ignorance of the martial laws; but to prevent the soldiers choosing an insolent leader, who might do something injurious to the dignity of the dictator." He then advised Sulpicius to yield to the desires of the soldiers, who otherwise seemed inclined to seize the first opportunity of fighting, whether he would or not. An accident presently convinced the dictator of the truth of what Sextius had told him. Two beasts of burden which escaped out of the Roman intrenchments, and were seized by the Gauls, had like to have been the occasion of a general action. The Roman soldiers were with difficulty restrained by their centurions. Sulpicius therefore thought it no longer proper to delay the engagement, and gave notice in the camp that he would offer battle the next day.

The Romans, being inferior to the Gauls, in number, the dictator, to remedy this disadvantage, made use of a stratagem which had never been practised before. He ordered his muleteers to put upon their mules the furniture of war-horses, to mount them, march silently up to the hills, and hide themselves in the woods, till they received further orders. This extra-

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCXCV.  
Bef. J. C.  
Three hun-  
dred fifty-  
seven.

Ninety-se-  
venth Con-  
sulship.

Frontin.  
Stratage-  
mata.



Year of  
R O M E  
CCCXCV.  
Bef. J. C.  
Three hun-  
dred fifty  
seven.

Ninety-se-  
venth Con-  
sulship.

Livy, B. 7.  
c. 15.

ordinary body of troopers, to the number of about one thousand, appearing opportunely in the plain in the heat of the action, so intimidated the Gauls, who feared to be surrounded, that they presently dispersed and fled, losing more men in their flight than in the action, for few of them escaped the slaughter.

Sulpicius, when he had been honoured with a triumph, and had made a present of some of the enemy's spoils to Jupiter Capitolinus, abdicated the dictatorship, and the government returned into the hands of the two consuls for the year. Plautius vanquished the Hernici, and totally subdued them. But Fabius was defeated in battle by the Tarquinienses, who, to show their contempt of the republic, cut the throats of 307 Roman prisoners. However, the conciliation of the Latines, the total overthrow of the Gauls, and the reduction of the Hernici, made this a prosperous year for the republic. Rome was now in almost as flourishing a condition as before it was taken by king Brennus.

III. SOME Roman citizens being at this time sent into the Pomptin territory, to stop the incursions of the Veliterni and Privernates, formed a new tribe there, called Pomptina, which, with the tribe Publicia, or Popilia, lately established in the territory of the Volsci, made the whole number of the tribes twenty-seven.

At this time likewise a law was made, at the motion of Poetilius the tribune, and with approbation of the senate, against openly can-

passing for votes. It was occasioned by the ambition of the *novi homines*, or upstart gentleman, who not content with soliciting suffrages in the Forum Romanum, went even to the country fairs, and other public meetings, to buy voices. This, says Livy, was the first law of the kind preferred to the people; nevertheless, according to the same author, a law was passed in the year 321, forbidding the candidates to make their robes whiter than ordinary, and this \* in order to give a check to the practice of canvassing for offices.

Under the following administration of C. Marcus Rutilus and Cn. Manlius Imperiosus †, the interest of money, which before was arbitrary, was, at the motion of the tribunes of the people, settled at one *per cent. per month*<sup>1</sup>. This regulation so displeased the avaricious patricians, that, to revenge themselves on the plebeians, they cited the famous Licinius Stolo to answer for the breach of one of the four laws (which he himself had so zealously promoted) prohibiting any citizen to possess more

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCXCV.  
Bef. J. C.  
Three hundred fifty-seven.

Ninety-seventh  
Consulship.  
B. 4. c. 25.

\* Tollendæ  
ambitionis  
causa.

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCXCVI.  
Bef. J. C.  
Three hundred fifty-six.

Ninety-eighth  
Consulship.  
Livy, B. 7.  
c. 16.  
Val. Max.  
B. 8. c. 6.  
Plin. B. 18.  
c. 3.  
† A second  
time.

<sup>1</sup> Livy's words are, de UNCIARIO FOENORE—rogatio est perlata, &c. "The interest of money, both in Rome and Greece, was high for a considerable time. Simple interest was exacted monthly in both places, at the rate of one *per cent. per month*.—The Romans paid a denarius a month for 100 denarii; and it is mentioned by Cicero as monthly.—And because the *as* was reckoned any integer, it was likewise called *asses usuræ*: so that *asses usuræ* and *centesimæ usuræ* are the same thing.—Livy and Tacitus mention the *fenus unciarium*, and *semiunciarium*, as high, which according to the proportion of the *as*, being but  $\frac{1}{12}$  or  $\frac{1}{12}$  in the month, must only make 1 or  $\frac{1}{12}$  *per cent. per*

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCXCVI.  
Bef. J. C.  
Three hun-  
dred fifty-  
six.

Ninety-  
eighth Con-  
sulship.

than five hundred acres of land. Licinius actually possessed a thousand; but, to cover his breach of the law, had emancipated his son, and made him the nominal possessor of one half of them. However, he was convicted, before the prætor, of fraud, and fined ten thousand<sup>2</sup> asses of brass. These intestine commotions being over, the consul Marcius was ordered to conduct an army against the Privernates, who the year before had declared against Rome. Marcius routed the enemy in the field, and pursued them to Privernum, which to preserve it from being plundered, they immediately surrendered.

But Cn. Manlius, the other consul, gained little glory in his expedition against the Falisci whom he had been sent to punish for several insults on the republic. Nothing was talked of in Rome, but his attempt upon the constitu-

*annum.* And the Law of the XII. tables forbids, *Ne quis unciario fœnore amplius exerceto.*" So it is expressed by Tacitus. These expressions cannot be interpreted according to the analogy of the tables, but differ from all the others; and they certainly denote the *centesima usura*: but, how this way of expression in these two authors has happened, I can give no account: it seems they put the *uncia* for the *as* or *integer*.—*Semisses usuræ* or  $\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. per month, six per cent. a year, which Pliny calls *civilis et modica*, came to be the public and customary interest of money; for the *asses usuræ* came to be a grievance, and occasioned great tumults among the people; yet still he that took it was not reckoned to transgress any law; and there were some greedy usurers that exacted double, triple, nay four times as much." Arbuthnot, chap. xxii. Of the interest of money.

<sup>2</sup> Or 32*l.* 5*s.* 10*d.* Arbuthnot.



tion. He had ventured to assemble the tribes near Sutrium, and had there made a law in his camp, that the twentieth part of the price of every slave, thereafter sold, should be paid into the public treasury. The senate had consented to this law, notwithstanding the irregularity of holding the *comitia* by tribes in the camp. But the tribunes of the people thought this step of the consul of dangerous consequence to the public liberty; and therefore got a law passed, forbidding any man to assemble the people in *comitia*, any where but in Rome, upon pain of death. However, the law relating to the twentieth part of the price of slaves was not repealed.

IV. THE consuls for the following year, M. Fabius Ambustus\* and M. Popilius Lænas† (both a second time) no sooner entered on their office, than they took their military employments by lot. Popilius commanded the army which was to act against the Tyburtes. He found them shut up within their walls, and ravaged their lands without opposition. But Fabius had a more difficult war to manage against the united Falisci and Tarquinienses. They stirred up all Hetruria against the republic. The Hetrurians advanced towards the Roman territory, as far as the salt pits, on the banks of the Tiber; and their approach obliged the Romans to have recourse to the usual remedy in great emergencies. The consul Popilius was ordered to name a dictator; and as he was a plebeian himself, he pitched upon C.

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCXCVI.  
Bef. J. C.  
Three hundred fifty-six.

Ninety-  
eighth Con-  
sulship.

Livy, B. 7.  
c. 16.


Year of  
R O M E  
CCCXCVII.  
Bef. J. C.  
Three hundred fifty-five.

Ninety-  
ninth Con-  
sulship.

\* A second  
time.

† A second  
time.

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCXCVII.  
Bef. J. C.  
Three hun-  
dred fifty-  
five.

  
Ninety-  
ninth Con-  
sulship.

Marcus Rutilius, the plebeian consul of the last year, to raise him to that dignity. The dictator likewise chose a plebeian, C. Plautius Proculus, to be his general of horse: so that now the government of the republic was almost entirely in the hands of men of true merit, chosen out of the people. The patricians, stung with jealousy at these promotions, did all they could to hinder the dictator from having the necessaries for the war: but, on the other hand, the people hastened the preparations for the campaign, and the general marched out to meet the enemy. He surprised their camp, forced it, and took eight thousand prisoners. Notwithstanding so complete a victory, the senate opposed the triumph of a plebeian dictator; but the people did him justice, and he entered Rome triumphantly the day before the nones of May.

And now the time drawing nigh for electing new consuls, and Fabius not being at Rome, the nobility pretended that it was unlawful for any plebeian, though a dictator, to preside in the *comitia*; because by the pontifical laws the election of chief magistrates should be consecrated by auguries; and auguries, said they, belong of right only to patricians. And for this time they prevailed. The republic had recourse to an interregnum; and, which is very extraordinary, the plebeians, in the very year in which they triumphed most, were excluded from a share in the government; two patricians were chosen consuls in the ensuing co-

*mitia*. The tribunes of the people exclaimed against the election, as contrary to the custom practised for eleven years past, during which time one of the consuls had always been a plebeian. But the president of the *comitia* silenced their clamour, by citing a law \* of the twelve tables, that only the last edicts of the people should be of force : for they inferred, that the people, by choosing two patricians, had in effect abolished the former custom.

The new consuls, C. Sulpicius Peticus † and M. Valerius Poplicola, after a slight battle, took Empulum from the Tyburtes, but did nothing else remarkable abroad during their administration. Their chief view was to keep the consulate in patrician hands ; and when the time came for new elections, they declared that they would never resign their dignity to any other than patricians. This occasioned great commotions and tumults in the Campus Martius, insomuch that the greater number of the people cried out, that a secession was necessary, and in reality quitted the assembly, leaving only the least passionate behind them. These gave their suffrages for two patricians, M. Fabius Ambustus ‡ and T. Quinctius Pennus ; and thus the nobility carried their point. The consuls took the field ; the former against the Tyburtes, whom he totally subdued ; the latter against the Tarquinienses, on whom the Romans now revenged the cruelty committed on the three hundred and seven Roman soldiers formerly mentioned. Quinctius having de-

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCXCVII.  
Bef. J. C.  
Three hundred fifty-five.

Ninety-ninth Consulship.

\* See 8th law of the 9th table, vol. ii. ch. 27.

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCXCVIII.  
Bef. J. C.  
Three hundred fifty-four.

100th Consulship.

† A third time.  
Livy, B. 7. c. 18.

‡ A third time.  
Livy, B. 7. c. 19.



Year of  
R O M E  
CCCXCIX.  
Bef. J. C.  
Three hun-  
dred fifty-  
three.

101st Con-  
sulship.

feated them in a bloody battle, put all the prisoners to the sword, except three hundred and fifty-eight, whom he sent to Rome, where, by order of the senate, they were first beaten with rods, and then beheaded. These victories extended the reputation of the Romans; inso-much that the Samnites sent an embassy to the republic, courted her friendship, and concluded an alliance with her, probably upon the same foot as that with the Latines and Hernici. Without changing their laws or government, they engaged to furnish the Romans with troops in their necessity; and the Romans promised to protect them against their enemies both at home and abroad. This was constantly the first step taken by the politic republic, in subduing the nations that lay nearest to her. She flattered them with the title of allies of the Roman people; and when by their assistance she had made herself mistress of the more distant countries, those who had suffered themselves to be lulled asleep under the title of allies, found themselves involved in her conquests; and though they were still called allies, they were treated as subjects.

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCC.  
Bef. J. C.  
Three hun-  
dred fifty-  
two.

102d Con-  
sulship.

\* A fourth  
time.

† A second  
time.

Though the people were still very desirous to have one of the consuls plebeian, the nobility, as their creditors, had them so much under at this time, that they kept the consulship in their own hands; and C. Sulpicius Peticus\* and M. Valerius Poplicola† were again promoted to that dignity. While the republic was preparing her levies to act against the

Tarquinienses, she received advice from the Latines, that the Volsci were upon the point of entering the Roman territory; and this obliged her to divide her forces between the two consuls. Sulpicius marched into Hetru-ria, Valerius against the Volsci. Valerius had already encamped on the confines of the ter-ritory of Tusculum, when he was recalled to Rome to nominate a dictator. This was oc-casioned by letters from Sulpicius, which im-ported, that the Cærites were undoubtedly dis-posed to take part with the Tarquinienses; that his army was not strong enough to repress the insolence of these enemies united; and that even the Falisci had joined the latter. In order therefore to have a third army on foot, to oppose the Cærites, while the two consuls checked the progress, the one of the Volsci, the other of the Tarquinienses and Falisci, Valerius was directed to name a dictator. Accordingly he named T. Manlius Torquatus to that dignity, who appointed Cornelius Cossus to be his general of horse. Though Manlius had never been consul, (a necessary step to rise regularly to the dictatorship) yet his merit was such, that no opposition was made to his promotion.

But now the inhabitants of Cære, intimi-dated by the preparations made against them, instead of pursuing the war, sent an embassy to Rome, to implore the clemency of the senate. The senate referred the deputies to the people, who being moved to compassion by the repent-

Year of,  
R O M E  
CCCC.  
Bef. J. C.  
Three hun-  
dred fifty-  
two.

102d Con-  
sulship.

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCC.  
Bef. J. C.  
Three hun-  
dred fifty-  
two.

102d Con-  
sulship.

Livy, B. 7.  
c. 20.

ance of the Cærites, and especially when reminded that Cære had been formerly the asylum of the vestals, and the receptacle of their gods, granted them a truce for an hundred years, and the dictator, instead of marching against them, led his troops against the Falisci. But neither on this side did he find an enemy in the field to contend with; so that having laid their country waste, he immediately returned to Rome.

#### CHAP. VII.

I. *The magistrates take effectual measures to relieve the debtors, in order to maintain peace at home.* II. *The people suffer two patricians to be declared consuls. Nevertheless in this very consulate the commons prevail for the first time to have a plebeian chosen to the CENSORSHIP.* III. *And notwithstanding that the present consuls name a dictator to hold the comitia for the election of their successors, in order to get two patricians chosen, M. Popilius Lænas, a plebeian, is promoted (now a third time) to the consulate with L. Cornelius Scipio. Cornelius falling sick, the plebeian consul has the sole conduct of a new war with the Gauls. A prætor acts as a general, for the first time. Two patricians are chosen consuls. The Gauls spread themselves on the sea-coast of Latium. M. VALERIUS (afterwards surnamed CORVUS) a legionary tribune, kills in single combat a champion of the Gauls, and this occasions a general action, in which the Romans obtain the victory. Valerius, though but twenty-three years of age, is chosen to be one of the consuls.* IV. *The Romans conclude a treaty with the Carthaginians.* V. *The interest of money is lowered to half per cent. Valerius Corvus (now a second time consul) defeats the Volsci, and takes from them Satricum. The secular games are celebrated for the second time.* VI. *A dictator is named, on occasion of a war with a new enemy, the Aurunci.*



*He builds a temple, which he had vowed, during a battle with the enemy, to Juno Moneta. The year following, the Romans imagining that the goddess, agreeable to her name MONETA, admonished them by prodigies of the impending wrath of the gods, P. Valerius is named dictator, to order the celebration of the Feriæ Latinæ.*

I. ALL things were quiet in the city, till the time came for new elections. The dictator, who was to have presided in the *comitia*, had formed the design of hindering any plebeian being chosen to the consulship; but the tribunes of the people perceiving his intention, opposed the assembling of the centuries, till the expiration of his dictatorship, and of the consul's year, both which ended at the same time. An interregnum ensued; and the two parties were irreconcilable. The people began to make complaints about their debts, as well as of the infraction of the Licinian law, relating to the election of consuls; and the disputes grew to such a height, as seemed to threaten an open revolt. This apprehension induced the senate at length to suffer the Licinian law to take place, and to permit the centuries to choose one of the consuls out of the plebeians. C. Marcius Rutilus\*, a plebeian, was joined with P. Valerius Poplicola in the consulate. These magistrates made it their first care to reconcile the two parties, by easing the debtors. To this end, they chose out five men<sup>1</sup> of known

Year of.  
R O M E  
CCCC.  
Bef. J. C.  
Three hundred fifty-two.

102d Consulship.  
Livy, B. 7.  
c. 21.

\* A second time.

<sup>1</sup> C. DUILIUS,  
P. DECIVS MUS,  
M. PAPIRIUS,  
Q. PUBLILIUS,  
T. ÆMILIUS.

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCCI.  
Bef. J. C.  
Three hun-  
dred fifty-  
one.

103d Con-  
sulship.

probity, to take an account of all debts, and see them discharged. These five were called bankers, and they had the command of the public treasury, to enable them to perform their commission, which they did to the satisfaction of all parties. Those who through sloth and carelessness, rather than want, had plunged themselves in debt, either borrowed money of these bankers, giving security to the public, or else deposited the value of their debts in their creditor's hands, in effects, which were valued by the bankers. By this means the greater number of the debtors were relieved without wronging any person, and with little loss to the public.

II. BUT while the republic was taking these methods to secure peace at home, she was suddenly alarmed with the report of a new war, which she must quickly sustain abroad against the twelve lucumonies of Hetruria; upon which the senate immediately named Julius Iulus dictator. The report however proved groundless, and was (probably) raised by the patricians, only to get a man at the head of affairs, who might prevent the Licinian law from taking place in the ensuing elections. And indeed he employed all his credit and power to that end, but without success; for the people were so warm and steady in opposing his design, that both he and the consuls were out of office before they could get the *comitia* assembled.

Livy, B. 7.  
c. 22.

In the interregnum which ensued, C. Sulpicius Peticus and M. Fabius governed by turns; and the people, by the complaisance

which they had for these men, seem to have been actuated by some particular pique against the late dictator, in their opposition to his desires; for now they readily suffered two patricians to be raised to the consulship. Sulpicius \* himself was one of them, and T. Quinctius Cincinnatus the other. The former marched against the Tarquinienses, and the latter against the Falisci: but these two nations being tired out by the calamities of war, submitted to the republic, and obtained a truce for forty years.

The present interval of peace seemed a proper season for holding the *comitia*, to elect new censors. A day was accordingly fixed for this purpose, and it was the first time that any plebeian was seen to stand candidate for that important office. C. Marcius Rutilus, having been twice consul and once dictator, thought he might well aspire to any dignity in the republic. He was the first of the commons who had been raised to the dictatorship; and, in spite of the opposition of the nobles, he had obtained a TRIUMPH for his exploits in that station. And now, in the *comitia* by centuries, he was declared censor with Cn. Manlius a patrician.

III. But though the patricians had not been able to exclude the plebeians from the censorship, they still hoped to secure the consulship wholly to themselves; and the better to succeed in that design, the present consuls named M. Fabius Ambustus (who had been thrice consul) dictator to preside at the next

Year of  
R O M E.  
CCCCII.  
Bef. J. C.  
Three hundred fifty.

104th Consulship.

\* A fifth time.



Year of  
R O M E  
CCCCIII.  
Bef. J. C.  
Three hun-  
dred forty-  
nine.

105th Con-  
sulship.

Livy, B. 7.  
c. 23.

Appian, in  
Celtic.

election, imagining, that an absolute governor would be more respected in the *comitia*, and have more influence. But notwithstanding these precautions, M. Popilius Lænas, a plebeian, was now chosen consul, a third time; and his colleague, L. Cornelius Scipio, falling sick when he should have taken the field, the senate had the further mortification of seeing the plebeian consul sole general of the troops. Popilius immediately ordered levies to be made, to stop the progress of the Gauls, who were ravaging the Latine territory, and approached towards Rome; and to be the sooner in readiness for marching, he appointed the enrollment without the gate Capena<sup>2</sup>, and not upon the capitol. So great a number of soldiers enlisted themselves on this occasion, that the consul, by order of the senate, divided them into two armies, and left one to guard the city under the command of M. Valerius Poplicola, the present prætor. And this was the first time that the prætor was seen at the head of an army. Popilius with four legions and some auxiliaries marched against the enemy, defeated them, plundered their camp, and led back to Rome his victorious army, enriched with spoil. He was decreed a triumph at his return; but the ceremony was deferred on account of a wound he had received in the battle, and of which

Livy,  
B. 7.  
c. 24.

<sup>2</sup> The gate Capena, now called the gate of St. Sebastian, led to the Appian Way; as we learn from Frontinus, who tells us, that the censor Appius made a great road from this gate quite to Capua.

he was not yet recovered. His colleague Scipio continued likewise still sick ; so that the republic, seeing both her chief magistrates out of a condition to discharge their functions, desired them to name a dictator to preside at the election of new consuls. Accordingly they named L. Furius Camillus (son of the great Camillus) to that dignity, who appointed P. Cornelius Scipio to be his general of the horse. These two eminent patricians employed their utmost efforts to make the election fall only on men of their own order, and they succeeded. The dictator prevailed to have himself chosen one of the consuls ; and Appius Claudius, surnamed Crassus, another patrician, was appointed his colleague.

And now the Gauls, who after their late defeat had fled for refuge to the hills of Alba, came down again, and spread themselves upon the sea-coast in the country of the Latines. At the same time some Greeks (from what part is uncertain) made a descent on the very same coast where the Gauls were ravaging and plundering, *i. e.* from the mouth of the Tiber to Antium ; but the Gauls, jealous of their booty, forced these new invaders back to their ships. While the Greeks still hovered about the coast, and the Gauls were yet in Latium, the republic lost one of her generals, who should have acted against these robbers ; Appius, one of the consuls, died during the preparations for the war. It seemed expedient to nominate a dictator to act in concert with the surviving consul, but

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCCIII.  
Bef. J. C.  
Three hun-  
dred forty-  
nine.

105th Con-  
sulship.

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCCIV.  
Bef. J. C.  
Three hun-  
dred forty-  
eight.

106th Con-  
sulship.

Livy, B. 7.  
c. 25.  
Diod. Sic.  
B. 16.

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCCIV.  
Bef. J. C.  
Three hun-  
dred forty-  
eight.

106th Con-  
sulship.

the senate were unwilling to give Camillus any superior. He had obliged them in the late elections, his personal merit was great, and his very name of Camillus was a good omen in a war with the Gauls; all these considerations made them accept of him as sole governor of the republic; so that he wanted little more than a greater number of lictors to commence a regular dictator. His first care was to raise two armies. The Latines were summoned to furnish their contingent of auxiliaries; but they refused to be commanded by a Roman general; and, in a national diet, resolved to shake off the dishonourable yoke. However, the consul found Roman citizens enough, who by law were obliged to serve, to compose a body of ten legions, amounting to 45,000 men. Camillus left two of these legions to guard the city; gave four to L. Pinarius the prætor, whom he sent to defend the sea-coast against the Greeks, and he himself incamped with the other four in the Pomptin territory, a country full of marshes and rivers; for he had no design of coming to a battle with the Gauls; his only view was to harass the enemy in their posts, intercept their convoys, and, if possible, to starve them. While both armies continued inactive, a fierce Gaul of a gigantic stature appeared between the two camps, defying the bravest man in the Roman legions to single combat. M. Valerius, a legionary tribune, great grandson of the famous Valerius Volusius, accepted the challenge, and is said to have

Aul. Gel.  
B. 9. c. 11.  
Livý, B. 7.  
c. 26.  
Auth. of  
Lives of  
Illust. Men,  
c. 29.



obtained a victory by means of a raven, which had perched upon his helmet ever since day-break, and which, during the fight, flew in the face of the giant, and so blinded him with his wings, that Valerius easily stabbed him. The Gauls seeing their champion slain, immediately crowded round his body, to hinder him from being stripped of his armour; and the Romans at the same time ran to defend Valerius, and this by degrees brought on a general battle, in which the Gauls were again defeated. Those of them that escaped took their way through the country of the Volsci, and crossing Campania retired as far as the coasts of the Adriatic sea. As for the brave Valerius, the general rewarded him with a crown of gold and ten oxen; and he ever after bore the name of Corvus\*.

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCCIV.  
Bef. J. C.  
Three hun-  
dred forty-  
eight.

106th Con-  
sulship.

\* Raven.

Nothing now remained for the consul to do, in order to finish his year with honour, but to drive away the Greek pirates that infested the coasts of Latium. With this view he joined his army to that of the prætor Pinarius; but the obstinacy of those adventurers, who, though they durst not land, continued hovering at sea, obliged him to keep the field longer than he had imagined. In the meanwhile the time for the new election of consuls drew near, so that he was obliged to name a dictator to preside in the *comitia*; and on this occasion the famous Manlius Torquatus was again raised to that dignity. A dictator could not fail to have a considerable influence in the assembly of the centuries; and Man-

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCCV.  
Bef. J. C.  
Three hun-  
dred forty-  
seven.

107th Con-  
sulship.

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCCV.  
Bef. J. C.  
Three hun-  
dred forty-  
seven.

107th Con-  
sulship.

lius, who was extremely pleased with the exploit of Valerius, so much resembling his own former victory over a gigantic Gaul, found means to prevail with the people to choose him one of the consuls, though but twenty-three years of age, and too young to have a place in the senate. With him they joined Popilius Lænas, now consul a fourth time.

As for Camillus, he made so good an appearance on the coast, that the Greeks, not daring to come ashore, and at last wanting fresh water and other necessary provisions, put out to sea.

Livy, B. 7.  
c. 27.

IV. THE armies were disbanded; and Rome, for a short space, had neither war abroad, nor quarrels at home. Her tranquillity however was not complete; a pestilential sickness disturbed it. The senate directed the decemvirs to consult the Sibylline books, and, it being there found that the lectisternium would be good against the plague, they ordered that notable ceremony to be performed.

But the most memorable event of the present year was a treaty of friendship and alliance between Rome and Carthage. It was made at the request of the Carthaginians, who sent ambassadors to Rome for that end; and it seems to have been the first treaty<sup>3</sup> concluded between

<sup>3</sup> Orosius, lib. 3. cap. 7. calls the TREATY made at this time the first—PRIMUM illud ictum cum Carthaginiensibus fœdus.

Polybius pretends that so early as the first year of the republic, ROME and CARTHAGE entered into a TREATY, the record of which, in the old obsolete Latin, was, in his time,

the two states. Cum Carthaginiensibus legatis Romæ FÆDUS ICTUM, quum amicitiam ac societatem petentes venissent. Liv. lib. vii. cap. 27.

still extant: and he gives us the following translation of it, as made with all possible exactness.

“THERE shall be peace and friendship between the Romans and the allies of the Romans, and the Carthaginians and the allies of the Carthaginians, on the following conditions:

“The Romans and the allies of the Romans shall not navigate beyond the Fair Promontory\*, unless constrained by tempest or an enemy. If at any time they shall chance to be forced ashore [beyond that promontory] they shall not be permitted to take or buy any thing but what they need for repairing their vessels, and for their sacrifices: None shall make longer stay ashore than five days.

“On those who shall come to traffic, no duty shall be imposed beside the fees to the crier and register; and for payment of whatever shall be sold, whether in Africa or Sardinia, in the presence of those officers, the public faith shall stand engaged to the seller. If any Romans shall come to such places in Sicily as are in subjection to the Carthaginians, they shall have justice done them in all things.

“The Carthaginians shall do nothing to the detriment of the people of Ardea, Antium, Laurentum, Circeii, or Tarracina, or any other of the Latines whomsoever, if they be subject [to the Romans] and if any be not subject, yet the Carthaginians shall make no attempt on their towns; if they make seizure of any such towns, they shall deliver up the same unhurt to the Romans. They shall not build any fort in the country of the Latines: and in case they shall at any time land there in arms, they shall not remain there one night.” Polyb. B. 3. c. 22. See what is said in relation to this treaty, in p. 51. & seq. of the Dissertation on the Credibility, &c. prefixed to the fourth volume.

\* That is, to the southward of it towards the lesser Syrtis, as Polybius explains it. But the Romans were permitted to have trade and commerce with Carthage and the rest of Africa on the other side the Fair Promontory, as likewise in Sardinia and those parts of Sicily which were dependent on Carthage.

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCCV.  
Bef. J. C.  
Three hundred forty-seven.

107th Consulship.

Livy, B. 7. c. 27.



Year of  
R O M E  
CCCCVI.  
Ref. J. C.  
Three hun-  
dred forty-  
six.

108th Con-  
sulship.

Livy, B. 7.  
c. 27.

V. IN the following consulship of C. Plautius Hypsæus and T. Manlius Torquatus (who, though twice dictator, had never been consul before) nothing remarkable happened, except the reducing of the interest of money from one *per cent.* [per month] to half *per cent.* and the allowing the debtors, upon their paying down one-fourth of their debts, three years to discharge the remainder by annual and equal payments; and the debtors had this further relief, that no levies were made, nor taxes raised this year.

Polybius gives us another treaty, as the second, between the two republics, but does not tell us when it was made. It differed from the first in the following particulars:

The Tyrians and those of Utica were comprised in it. For it was a treaty between the Romans and their allies on one side, and the Carthaginians, Tyrians, Uticenses, and their allies on the other.

To the Fair Promontory were added Mastia and Tar-seium, as places beyond which the Romans were not to go in search of plunder, nor build a city, nor carry on any commerce. [The geographers know not the situation of these places.]

The Romans might trade to the towns of Sicily, subject to the Carthaginians, but were to have no commerce in Sardinia, nor in any part of Africa, except the city of Carthage only. Here they were to be allowed the same rights and privileges [in point of trade] as the citizens themselves; and the Carthaginians were to have the like treatment in Rome.

If the Carthaginians should take any town in the territory of the Latines, not under the Roman dominion, they might keep the pillage and captives, provided they relinquished the town; but if the Carthaginians should make any captives among those of the Latines, who, though not subject to Rome, were, by a written treaty, in league of amity with her, and should bring such captives into any Roman port, and these captives should be discovered

But the next year, when Valerius Corvus\* and C. Poetelius Libo Visolus were in possession of the fasces, news being brought from Latium that the Volsci were soliciting the Latines to take arms against Rome, Valerius received orders to march and attack the enemy before their confederates could join them. Satricum, which the Latines had destroyed in 377, had been rebuilt and re-peopled by the Volsci in 405, and was now the rendezvous of their forces. Here Valerius gave them battle, put them to the rout, and, having taken the town, burnt it, sparing only the temple of the goddess Matuta; after which he returned to Rome, and entered it in triumph with four thousand captives before his chariot. But according to the Capitoline marbles, the triumph of Valerius was not the most pompous show with which the Romans were entertained in his consulate; the secular games<sup>4</sup>, which had been instituted in the year of Rome 297, were now celebrated for the second time.

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCCVII.  
Bef. J. C.  
Three hundred forty-five.

109th Consulship.

\* A second time.

VI. THE Romans after the victory over the Volsci were attacked by the Aurunci, a petty nation near the confines of Latium, on the coast of the Tyrrhenian sea: and the republic being struck with the same terror as if all Latium had declared against her, ordered the

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCCVIII.  
Bef. J. C.  
Three hundred forty-four.

110th Consulship.

Livy, B. 7.  
c. 28.

and challenged by any Roman, they should be set at liberty.

The Romans were to be subject to the like restrictions with regard to the Carthaginians and their allies. Polyb. B. 3. c. 24.

<sup>4</sup> The nature and origin of these games will be spoken of hereafter.

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCCVIII.  
Bef. J. C.  
Three hun-  
dred forty-  
four.

110th Con-  
sulship.

\* A second  
time dicta-  
tor.

consuls M. Fabius Dorso and Servius Sulpicius Camerinus to nominate a dictator; the courts of justice were shut up, and the levies made with the utmost rigour. L. Furius Camillus\*, whom the consuls named to the dictatorship, marched away to meet the enemy, and was greatly surprised, when he came within sight of them, to find that they made no better appearance than a gang of robbers. Nevertheless, because they had the hardiness to be the aggressors, and readily to offer him battle when he appeared, he thought it expedient to seek aid of the gods; and therefore in the heat of the conflict vowed a temple to Juno Moneta<sup>s</sup>. The Aurunci were too weak to resist the Roman forces; Furius returned victorious to Rome; but, resigning his dictatorship, left to others the care of performing his vow. The senate appointed duumvirs to direct the building of the temple, promised to the goddess. It was erected on the capitol, in the same place where the house of Marcus Manlius had stood. The consuls employed the dictator's army against the Volsci, and coming upon them un-awares, took from them Sora.

<sup>s</sup> This name had been given to the queen of the gods a little before the taking of Rome by the Gauls. It was pretended, that from the temple of Juno had come a voice, accompanied with an earthquake, and that the voice had admonished the Romans to avert the evils that threatened them, by sacrificing a sow with pig. Hence she was called Moneta\*. Afterwards the temple of Juno Moneta became a public mint; and from thence the medals, which were stamped for current coin in trade, took the name of *moneta*, MONEY.

Cicero, de  
Divin. B.  
l. n. 101.

\* From *monere*.



The succeeding consuls, C. Marcius Rutilus \* and T. Manlius Imperiosus †, consecrated this new temple the first of June ‡, a year after it had been vowed. This ceremony was immediately followed by prodigies; thick darkness in the daytime, and a shower of stones. After consulting the Sibylline books, the senate judged it expedient (the multitude being full of superstitious fears) to name a dictator, whose business should be to order the solemnization of the festival called *Feria Latinae*. P. Valerius being raised to that office, not only obliged the Roman tribes, but the nations bordering on the Roman territory, to observe the festival, appointing the day when each should perform their devotions.

Severe sentences (it is said) were, at the suit of the ædiles, passed this year against the usurers.

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCCIX.  
Bef. J. C.  
Three hundred forty-three.

111th Consulship.

\* A third time.

† A second time.

‡ Macrob.

Satur. B. 1.

c. 12.

Oros. B. 3.

c. 7.

Livy, B. 7.

c. 28.

## CHAP. VIII.

I. In the administration of M. Valerius Corvus (a third time consul) and Cornelius Cossus Arvina, happens the FIRST RUPTURE between the ROMANS and SAMNITES, on occasion of a war which the latter had carried on with success against the people of Capua in Campania. The Campanians, to engage the Romans to succour them in their distress, make a surrender of themselves and their country to the republic. Hereupon Valerius is directed to march an army into Campania, and Cornelius to carry the war into Samnium. Valerius, in an action with the Samnites, has the advantage. II. Cornelius, on the other hand, by an imprudent march brings his army into danger of being entirely cut off by the enemy: however, he is de-

*livered out of his difficulty by a stratagem, suggested and executed by a legionary tribune, named P. Decius Mus; and presently after, following the advice of the said Decius, he gains a victory over the Samnites. Decius is rewarded with many honours. III. Valerius obtains a second victory over the Samnites in Campania. These successes make the Romans respected abroad.*

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCCX.  
Bef. J. C.  
Three hundred forty-  
two.

112th Con-  
sulship.  
• A third  
time.

Livy, B. 7.  
c. 29.

I. THE dictator having, for some reason, (not mentioned by the historians) reduced the government to an interregnum, the president of it held the *comitia* by centuries, for electing new consuls. The choice fell (as the last year) upon two patricians. M. Valerius Corvus \* was now raised a third time to the consular dignity, and with him was joined Cornelius Cossus, surnamed Arvina. It was during their administration, that the Romans and Samnites first became enemies. A city to which the republic had no relation at that time, sowed those seeds of discord between the two nations, which produced a lasting hatred.

The Sidicini, a people of Ausonia, situated beyond the Liris, being attacked by the Samnites, who doubted not to make an easy conquest of their small territory, applied themselves to the Campanians for assistance. It was the interest of the latter to succour their distressed neighbours, and stop the progress of the Samnites; but they undertook the defence of the oppressed with more ostentation than real strength. For, though they possessed a very fruitful country, and though commerce daily increased their riches, this wealth of private persons was the weakness of the state. Luxury

reigned universally; the houses were magnificent, but the city without fortifications. The merchant, vain of his wealth, mistook his vanity for courage, and looked down with scorn upon enemies that were not so rich as he.

This contempt, ever imprudent, often fatal, of an enemy's strength, proved the ruin of Capua. The Samnites, who had a prospect of more glory and advantage in the conquest of the Campanians than of the Sidicini, turned their arms against the former, and having defeated them in two pitched battles, in which the vanquished lost all their youth, drew near to besiege their city, that had now no other defence than weak walls, and inhabitants filled with consternation.

The magistrates in this distress had recourse to Rome; they sent a pompous embassy to implore the alliance and assistance of the Romans. Their ambassadors laid before the senate all the motives, both of glory and interest, which could engage the republic to undertake their defence; the extremity to which they were reduced, and the power of their enemies, which would be considerably augmented by the conquest of so rich a city as Capua. They added, "Such is the misery of our present condition, that if we are not immediately succoured by our friends, we must fall under the power of our enemies. If you defend us, you will secure to yourselves allies full of fidelity and gratitude; we shall honour you as founders of our state, as our parents, nay even as the immortal gods. If

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCCX.  
Bef. J. C.  
Three hundred forty-  
two.

112th Con-  
sulship.

Livy, B. 7.  
c. 30.



Year of  
R O M E  
CCCCX.  
Bef. J. C.  
Three hun-  
dred forty-  
two.

~~~~~  
112th Con-  
sulship.

Livy, B. 7.  
c. 31.

you abandon us, what will be the consequence we dread even to imagine." To this humble address the senate, whether out of regard to the faith of treaties, as Livy represents it, or to draw more solid advantages from the assistance they should give the Campanians, than a vain title and empty praises, answered the ambassadors by the consul Valerius, "that they thought the CAMPANIANS worthy of their assistance, and wished they could with honour succour them; but that the republic had an ancient alliance with the Samnites, which would not allow her to take arms against them; that the senate however would send deputies to their camp, to entreat them as friends and allies to desist from their hostilities." The Campanian deputies had hitherto spoken only of an alliance and confederacy with the Romans; but now, not thinking the answer they had received sufficient to build great hopes on, the chief of them (pursuant to the powers with which they had been invested before they left Capua) made this further declaration: "Though the Romans refuse to protect us and ours against violence and injustice, they certainly will not neglect to defend their own. The people of Campania, the city of Capua, our lands, our temples, every thing we have divine and human, we absolutely give and surrender to you, O conscript fathers, and to the ROMAN PEOPLE; from this time forward therefore all our losses will be yours." This said, the ambassadors prostrated themselves on the threshold of the

senate-house, and holding up their hands to the consuls, shed a flood of tears. Self-interest and compassion made new impressions on the minds of the senators; they were moved, says Livy, at the sad revolution to which human affairs are liable; to see a nation, late so rich and flourishing, so proud and luxurious, and from whom its neighbours had implored assistance against oppression, reduced in a short time to so dejected a state of mind, as to give themselves and all their possessions into the power of a foreign people. And as the donation was made in due form, by ambassadors authorized to make it, the senate did not think their alliance with the Samnites obliged them to refuse it. Without hesitation therefore they sent away deputies with instructions to entreat the Samnites, as friends, to spare a province which belonged to Rome; and, in case of refusal, to give them notice, in the name of the people and senate of Rome, to quit the country immediately. But the Samnite magistrates were so far from being intimidated by the majesty of the Roman name, that, in the very presence of the deputies, they ordered the commanders of their troops to go instantly and ravage Campania.

This insult filled both the people and senate with indignation: and the Romans applied themselves wholly to the making preparations for a war. All the due forms of demanding satisfaction and proclaiming war by the *feciales* having been observed, the two consuls took the

Year of.  
R O M E  
CCCCX.  
Bef. J. C.  
Three hun-  
dred forty-  
two.

112th Con-  
sulship.

Livy, B. 7.  
c. 32.

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCCX.  
Bef. J. C.  
Three hun-  
dred forty-  
two.

112th Con-  
sulship.

field, each at the head of an army. It fell to Valerius's lot to command in Campania, and Cornelius was to enter the country of the Samnites. Valerius posted his troops near Mount Gaurus in Campania; and being there advantageously situated, he was in no haste to come to a battle, but tried the Samnites in slight skirmishes, to learn their way of managing their arms. At length he assembled his troops, exhorted them "not to be afraid of new enemies, or of a new manner of fighting;" bid them remember "their former victories, and by what general they were now commanded; that it was Valerius, who had thrice obtained the consulship, not by intrigue, or the nobleness of his birth (honour being now the reward of merit only) but by his bravery;" reminded them, "that he was descended from the great Poplicola, and had himself been always a Poplicola in the true meaning of the word. Go then, ROMANS," he added, "fall upon the enemy, and, in return for my affection to you, gain me the honours of a triumph."

Never was consul more popular; never was general more tenderly beloved by his soldiers. He took a pleasure in mixing with them, and sharing the labours of the meanest among them. Valerius frequently made one at their diversions, whether wrestling or running, and did not disdain to enter the lists with a common soldier. He always kept his temper, and, whether victorious or vanquished in these exercises, his countenance never changed. He

Livy, B. 7.  
c. 33.



was continually bestowing favours, but with a just regard to times and persons. He was easy in his private conversation, and gave every man full liberty to express his sentiments in his own manner; but as for himself, he ever maintained a certain dignity in his discourses. It was natural for troops to love and respect a general of this character. They marched out of the camp with a more than usual ardour for victory.

When the two armies were drawn up, and faced each other, their numbers appeared to be pretty equal. The battle was fought with wonderful resolution on both sides; but the Samnites began at length to give ground, when the night put an end to the conflict. The Romans had never engaged with more stubborn enemies, and perhaps would not have known that they had gained much advantage, if the Samnites had not deserted their camp in the night.

II. But whilst Valerius was signalizing his courage in Campania, his colleague Cornelius Cossus, who had been advantageously posted near Saticula on the confines of Samnium, left his camp, (for what reason is unknown) and marched his troops through a mountainous country into a forest, all the roads of which were narrow, and out of which there was but one passage, and that through a deep valley. It was not in his power to alter his march, when he discovered, that both the wood and the valley were lined with Samnites, and that he was in a manner surrounded by the enemy.

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCCX.  
Bef. J. C.  
Three hun-  
dred forty-  
two.

112th Con-  
sulship.

Livy, B. 7.  
c. 34.

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCCX.  
Bef. J. C.  
Three hun-  
dred forty-  
two.

112th Con-  
sulship.

In this distress P. Decius Mus, a legionary tribune, proposed to the consul to detach him with the principes and hastati of one legion, to take possession of an eminence which overlooked the Samnites, and which they had neglected. He added, "When you see me posted there, continue your march without fear, through the valley; the enemy will not dare to attack you while they are exposed to our darts." The consul approved of the motion. Decius was not discovered by the enemy till he had just gained the eminence; and then the Samnites were in such a surprise, that they could come to no determination what to do, whether to attack the consul, or Decius. In the meantime, Cornelius took advantage of their irresolution, and marched through the valley without molestation; and soon after the night came on.

Decius had at first expected to be attacked by the enemy on his hill; and hoped by the advantage of the ground to be able to withstand them. When he found that they neither came to assail him, nor yet raised any works between him and them, he assembled his soldiers, and exhorted them not to follow the enemy's example, but to form some design with expedition, and to execute it with courage. Then while it was yet day-light, changing his habit with a private soldier, and being accompanied by his centurions, whom he made do the like, that the enemy might not distinguish them to be officers, he took a view of all the

Livy, B. 7.  
c. 35.

avenues to the hill, and placed centinels at them, with orders to return silently to the main body, at the second watch of the night. When at that hour all his men were re-assembled, he laid before them the necessity of leaving the place where they were, and put it to the vote, whether to stay for day-light or march off immediately, and force a way through the enemy, while they were asleep. The latter being universally approved, Decius led his troops down from the rock in great silence; but when they had got half way through the enemy's camp, a Roman soldier struck his foot against the buckler of a Samnite, and the noise awakening a centinel, he gave the alarm in that quarter. The Samnites ran to arms, without knowing whether it were Decius with his troops, the consul with his army, or some Samnite of the camp, who had disturbed their rest. In the midst of this uncertainty, Decius ordered his men to give a great shout, which so increased the consternation of the Samnites, that they were in a manner frozen with fear, and the Romans easily made their escape. When they were come near the consul's camp, Decius commanded them to halt: "It is not fit," said he, "that after so glorious an exploit you should enter the camp in silence and darkness; rest yourselves therefore here till the light returns." The next morning Decius and his troops marched into the camp, with the acclamations of the army, who called them their preservers, and gave thanks to the gods for their happy return.

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCCX.  
Bet. J. C.  
Three hundred forty-two.

112th Consulship.

Livy, B. 7.  
c. 36.



Year of  
R O M E  
CCCCX.  
Bef. J. C.  
Three hun-  
dred forty-  
two.

112th Con-  
sulship.

But when the consul (having summoned all his soldiers to hear his harangue) was beginning to make the panegyric of Decius, this brave tribune advised him, instead of losing time in panegyrics, to march away immediately, and surprise the camp of the enemy, who, in all probability, had sent out detachments in quest of him. This advice was followed; the Romans surprised the Samnites scattered about the hills and woods, and pursued them into their camp, where thirty thousand of them were cut to pieces.

Livy, B. 7.  
c. 37.

This success added much to the glory of Decius, who was honoured with all the military rewards that were ever given to a subaltern. Beside a crown of gold, he received from the general a present of an hundred oxen, and a white bull with gilded horns. As for the soldiers of his detachment, the consul, in recompence of their merit, assigned them a double quantity of corn, not only for the present, but during life, and he gave each of them two sags<sup>1</sup>. The army likewise showed their gratitude to their deliverer, by putting on his head an obsi-

Anl. Gel.  
B. 5.

<sup>1</sup> The sagum of the Romans was a military habit, open from top to bottom, and usually fastened on the right shoulder with a buckle, or a clasp. It was not different in shape from the chlamys of the Greeks, and the paludamentum of the generals. The only difference between them was, that the paludamentum was made of a richer stuff, was generally of a purple colour, and both longer and fuller than the sagum. The adjoining plate will show the form of this garment, which the Latin authors call sagum, and chlamys, and paludamentum.

dional crown? And lastly his own detachment, which he had brought safely out of the danger into which he had led them, bestowed a mark of distinction on their leader, and crowned him with a civic crown, or a crown of oak-leaves, which was deemed the most honourable of all rewards. Thus adorned with three crowns, he offered up his white bull in sacrifice to Mars, and distributed his hundred oxen among the companions of his danger, and sharers of his glory.

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCCX.  
Bef. J. C.  
Three hundred forty-two.  
112th Consulship.  
Auth. of  
Lives of Illust. Men,  
c. 26.

III. But the campaign was not yet ended. The Samnites having recovered their courage, and raised new forces, appeared before Suesula, a town situated between Nola and Capua. Valerius marched against them, and when he came within a small distance of them, encamped his troops within as narrow a compass as he possibly could, and by this he deceived the enemy; for they taking a view of his camp, and finding it so small, imagined the Romans to be but weak in number, and therefore, full of confidence, offered them battle. Valerius kept close within his entrenchments, and made such a show of fear, that the Samnite soldiers were for immediately forcing his lines. However, the officers restrained their impetuosity; and believing that the Romans must soon want

Livy, B. 7.  
c. 37.

<sup>2</sup> It was customary among the Romans for the garrison of a besieged place to crown the general who came to its relief, and raised the siege, with a chaplet or garland made of the grass growing in the place. It was called *corona obsidionalis*. A. Gell. L. 5: c. 6.

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCCX.  
Bef. J. C.  
Three hun-  
dred forty-  
two.

112th Con-  
sulship.

provisions, they judged it a wise part to continue quiet in their camp, and watch them, not reflecting that the Romans were in a friend's country, whose interest it was to support them. In short, the Samnites themselves were the first who wanted necessities, and were obliged to send out large detachments to convoy provisions to their camp. Valerius observing this, seized the moment when the greater part of the enemy's troops were dispersed about the country, attacked their camp, forced it, made a great slaughter there, and then with his cavalry chased the several parties that were abroad foraging. In this action the Romans took one hundred and seventy standards from the enemy.

Livy, B. 7.  
c. 38.

The successes of Valerius and Cornelius (to whom the senate decreed the honours of the TRIUMPH) made the republic respected abroad; the Falisci entered into a treaty of alliance with her, and that whole lucumony of Hetruria became Roman. The Latines, who had stood neuter to see the event of the war, commenced hostilities against the Peligni (a Samnite nation) as it were to assist the Romans; and lastly, the Carthaginians sent a compliment of congratulation to the republic, with a present of a gold crown of twenty-five pounds weight to Jupiter Capitolinus, by way of thanksgiving for her victories.

Euseb.  
Chron.

By a census taken this year it appeared, that the number of Romans able to bear arms amounted to, 160,000.



## CHAP. IX.

*Some cohorts of Roman soldiers, who had been left in Capua all the winter, plot to make that delightful city their own, and to settle there. The measures taken by one of the consuls, to defeat this scheme, occasion a desertion. The deserters are joined by great numbers of malecontents from Rome. They force an old soldier, whom they find employed in husbandry, to be their leader. Valerius Corvus is hereupon named dictator, to march an army against the mutineers. He meets them eight miles from Rome, and prevails with them to submit; yet they, besides pardon, obtain some concessions from the republic.*

THE consuls for the new year were C. Marcius Rutilus, a plebeian, (now raised to that dignity a fourth time) and Q. Servilius Ahala, a patrician. The latter encamped the army allotted him in the neighbourhood of Rome, while the former marched with another into Campania. A body of Romans had, at the request of the Campanians, been left in Capua all the winter, to defend them from the enemies' incursions. When Marcius arrived in that city, he perceived a great alteration in those soldiers of the republic. Discipline had been neglected; their austerity of manners was changed into effeminacy, and their sobriety into intemperance. The charms of the climate and the air, which they breathed in idleness, had so bewitched them, that they did not care to hear their own country mentioned; and the less, as at home they were oppressed by their creditors. They had entered into a plot among them-

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCCXI.  
Bef. J. C.  
Three hundred forty-one.

113th Consulship.

Livy, B. 7.  
c. 38, 39,  
&c.

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCCXI.  
Bef. J. C.  
Three hun-  
dred forty-  
one.

113th Con-  
sulship.

Livy, B. 7.  
c. 39.

selves, to drive the natives out of Campania, seize it for their own possession, and settle there. Marcius was informed of all this; and as he was a man of great experience and prudence, he made use of the gentlest methods to induce them to drop their design. He checked the sedition for the present, by indulging them in the hope that they might put their scheme in execution whenever they pleased: for he caused a rumour to be spread that they should spend the following winter in the same places. This hope prevailed likewise among the other Romans dispersed up and down in Campania. In the meantime he contrived, under various pretences, to send away the most factious, at first one by one, and afterwards by whole cohorts; yet so, that no soldier was dismissed with disgrace. But at length the troops observed the general's conduct, and penetrated into his intentions. They presently imagined, that their companions had been tried and condemned at Rome, and that they themselves must undergo the same fate. In this apprehension, the first expedient that occurred to them was desertion; and the soldiers of one cohort were so bent upon it, that they straight marched away, and posted themselves near Anxur in Lautulæ, which was the name the Romans gave to the narrow pass there between the sea on one side, and high mountains on the other. To these deserters all those whom the consul had dismissed, or who were oppressed by debts, resorted; and new desertions



following close upon the first, the malecontents in a little time increased to a moderate army. But still they were at a loss for a leader. To supply this want, they surprised by night in his bed one T. Quinctius (an eminent soldier, who had retired from public life to his farm) and forced him to go along with them, and lead them as their general to Rome.

The city was so terrified at the approach of these mutineers, that the republic had recourse to her usual remedy in great emergencies; the consuls named a dictator. Valerius Corvus was the man pitched upon, and he, at the head of an army, met the rebels eight miles from Rome, in the Appian Way. The dictator had always distinguished himself by a tender love for his soldiers; and these very mutineers were a part of the victorious army which he had commanded the last year. He endeavoured therefore to bring them back to their duty by gentle methods; and, advancing into the middle space between the two armies, expostulated with them in the softest terms on their strange and unaccountable behaviour, so contrary not only to the tender regard they owed their country, but even to the grateful returns which he himself might have expected from them, considering how zealous he had ever been for their interests, and with what condescension and kindness he had always treated them in the highest stations to which he had been promoted, as well as in his private capacity. He told them that his prayer to the

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Fast. Capit.  
Livy, B. 7.  
c. 40.  
Auth. of the  
Lives of illust. Men.



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dred forty-  
one.

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sulship.

gods before he left Rome had not been to conquer them in battle, but to reconcile them to their country; and that he was so far from desiring to reduce them by force of arms, that if they resolved to fight, they must be the first to sound the trumpet for the charge, and must begin the attack too, before he would draw his sword against them. Then addressing himself to Quinctius, "Whether it be willingly or by force, T. QUINCTIUS, that you are engaged on that side, you will do well, in case of a battle, to retire into the hindmost ranks; it will be less dishonourable for you even to turn your back, and fly before your fellow-citizens, than to fight against your country. But if it be only in order to peace and reconciliation that you appear at the head of your party, you may; consistently with your honour and duty, continue there to be their interpreter. Speak then, make your demands, ask any conditions that are reasonable, and they shall be granted. Nay, it will be better to grant you even unreasonable terms, than that we should begin a detestable civil war, and Romans imbrue their hands in Roman blood."

Livy, B. 7.]  
c. 41.

Valerius had no sooner ended, than Quinctius, turning to the rebels, told them with tears in his eyes, that he could be of no service to their cause, unless in obtaining for them an advantageous peace; and he advised them to put themselves entirely into the hands of the dictator, who had a fatherly affection for them, and leave it to him to manage their interests

at Rome. This motion was followed by a shout of approbation; and then the dictator, having given the mutineers hopes of all reasonable concessions, returned to the city, and obtained from the senate an act of grace, which was afterwards confirmed by the people in *comitia*. And in the same assembly, and at the request of the rebels, were passed some new military laws, which revenge only inspired them to demand. Particularly they insisted, that the pay of the cavalry should be reduced; and this because not one single man of that corps had joined them in their revolt. Some authors say that at this time all usury was abolished in Rome, by a law made at the motion of Genucius, a tribune of the people; and that the commons passed likewise these other laws; that no man should have the same office twice within ten years, or possess two different offices in the same year; and, that the two consuls might be both chosen out of the plebeians. If these articles were obtained at this time, it is evident that the rebel army must have been exceedingly formidable. Livy tells us, that the historians differ in most of the circumstances of this event.

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Three hundred forty-one.

113th Consulship.

Livy, B. 7.  
c. 42.

## CHAP. X.

I. *Privernum* revolts, but is quickly reduced. The *Samnites* turn their arms once more against the *Sidicini*, who being refused succour by the senate at *Rome*, give themselves to the *Latines*, already in arms. The *Campanians* join the *Latines*. An army formed of these three nations enters *Samnium*. II. The *Samnites* send an embassy to the republic to complain of her suffering the *Latines* and *Campanians* to commit hostilities in *Samnium*. They receive an unsatisfactory answer. (*Alexander* king of *Epirus*, uncle of *Alexander the Great*, comes into *Italy*, and concludes a treaty of friendship with *Rome*.) III. The *Latines* demand of the *Romans*, as the condition of renewing the alliance between the two nations, that one of the consuls, and half of the senate of *Rome*, be for the future chosen out of the *LATINES*. This demand is rejected, and war is declared. IV. *Manlius* and *Decius*, the two consuls, have one and the same dream concerning the event of the war. V. *Manlius* causes his own son to be beheaded, for a breach of discipline. VI. The *Romans* come to a battle with the *Latines*. *Decius*, to secure the victory to his troops, devotes himself to death. The *Latines* are totally routed. *Manlius* gives them a second overthrow, after which both they and the *Campanians* submit. VII. The next year, *T. Æmilius*, the patrician consul, being directed by the senate to name a dictator, names *Q. Pubilius* his plebeian colleague; who obtains some new laws in favour of the plebeians. VIII. The *Romans* determine the fate of the several conquered cities. The *Latines*, from being allies, are made subjects of *Rome*.

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dred forty.

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sulship.

Livy, B. 7.  
c. 42.

\* A second  
time.

I. **THUS** was tranquillity re-established in *Rome*; but the condescensions shown to rebels, and the war in which the republic was engaged with the *Samnites*, induced some of her neighbours to fall off from her alliance. The *Priver-nates* in the consulship of *C. Plautius Hipsæus*\* and *L. Æmilius Mamercinus*, made it appear,



by their revolt, that the dread of her power was diminished. However, the consul Plautius, without difficulty, subdued these enemies: he defeated them in battle, took Privernum, and, though he restored it to the inhabitants, deprived them of two-thirds of their lands, and placed a strong garrison in the town. Thence he marched against the Volsci of Antium, and had a bloody engagement with them near Satricum: a sudden storm put an end to it before victory had declared for either side. It was the purpose of the Romans to renew the fight the next day; but the Antiates having numbered their dead, and being disheartened by the great loss of men they had sustained, retired in the night to Antium, with the same haste as if they had been vanquished in the battle.

The other consul, Æmilius, who led his forces into the country of the Samnites, and laid it waste, met with no opposition: they sued to him for a peace. He referred the ambassadors to the senate, of whom they requested two things; peace with Rome, and permission to make war on the Sidicini. Both these requests they obtained; and the Roman army returned home, after receiving from the Samnites a year's pay and three months provisions, pursuant to their agreement with the consul, when he granted them a truce till their ambassadors should come back from Rome.

And now the Samnites turned their forces against the Sidicini. These, after the example of the Campanians in the like distress, had re-

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Livy, B. 8,  
c. 1.

c. 2.

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course to the Roman republic for protection, offering to make an absolute surrendry to her of their country and their liberty: but the senate with scorn rejected the offer as made too late, and as the mere effect of extreme necessity: whereupon the Sidicini immediately gave themselves to the Latines, who of their own motion had already taken arms to attack the Samnites. Nor did the Campanians forbear to join the Latines in this war, so much deeper an impression did their minds retain of the injuries they had received from the Samnites, than of the benefits they had received from the Romans.

A considerable army, formed out of these three nations, entered Samnium, laying waste all before them; and in some slight engagements they had the advantage: nevertheless their commander, who was a Latine, not caring to lessen his strength (destined to more important service) by too frequent skirmishes, withdrew his forces very soon out of the enemy's country.

II. THE retreat of the confederates gave the Samnites an opportunity of sending ambassadors to Rome: who, when admitted by the senate to an audience, complained of their hard fortune, in that they suffered no less since their alliance with the Romans, than they had done when in enmity with them; and humbly prayed that the Romans would be satisfied with having snatched out of their hands a certain victory over the Campanians and Sidicini, and not suffer them also to be subdued by those

the most base and cowardly people of all Italy. They added, " If the Latines and Campanians are subject to you, why do not you forbid them to enter our country in a hostile manner? If they are rebels, why do not you chastise them?" These questions puzzled the senators, unwilling to own that they had no longer any power over the Latines, and fearing at the same time to alienate them entirely by a censure on their proceedings. The consul Plautius therefore in the name of the senate, gave this ambiguous answer: " The Campanians are our subjects, and we will force them to desist from troubling you: but, as for the Latines, they are not restrained by our treaty of alliance with them from making war against whom they please:" an answer, which, as it left the Samnites in a melancholy uncertainty with relation to the intentions of the republic, so it wholly alienated the Campanians by the menace it contained; and, as for the Latines, they grew so proud upon it, as to imagine they could now demand nothing which the Romans would dare to refuse. Under colour of preparing to carry on the war with the Samnites, they convened frequent assemblies of their chiefs, where they formed designs against Rome, in all which the Campanians took part. The Roman senate, though the confederates used all endeavours to keep their consultations secret, received full information of what was doing; and, to the end that the consuls who would have the management of so important a war, might be the

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dred forty.

114th Con-  
sulship.

Livy, B. 8.  
c. 3.



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Bef. J. C.  
Three hun-  
dred forty.

114th Con-  
sulship.

sooner in commission, the fathers obliged the present to abdicate before the expiration of their year: and because it was doubtful whether these consuls, quitting their magistracy before the usual time, could, consistently with true religion, hold the *comitia* for electing their successors, the government was reduced to an interregnum.

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dred thirty-  
nine.

115th Con-  
sulship.

\* A third  
time.  
Livy, B. 8.  
c. 3, 4.

III. M. FABIVS, (the second interrex) having convened the centuries, they chose T. Manlius Torquatus\* and Decius Mus to be consuls for the new year<sup>1</sup>. And now, although the Romans had no doubt of the defection of their allies, and especially of the Latines, yet the conscript fathers cited ten of the chief leaders of the Latines to appear at Rome, to receive the orders of the republic. The Latines had chosen themselves two prætors, or presidents of their great council, (who were likewise to be the managers of the war) L. Annius and L. Numicius, the one a native of Setia, the other of Circeii, two Roman colonies. These men being especially summoned by name, assembled the council, acquainted them with the summons, pointed out the heads upon which

<sup>1</sup> Livy tells us (by mistake, as Dodwell thinks) that Alexander king of Epirus, and brother of Olympias, mother of Alexander the Great, came at this time into Italy, and would probably have attacked the Romans, had he succeeded in his first enterprises. Aulus Gellius (B. 17. c. 21.) reports that this prince used to say, that the country he proposed to conquer was a country of men; whereas the provinces which his nephew Alexander went to subdue were inhabited by women only.

they presumed their examination would turn, and asked what answer they should make to the Roman senate. The members of the diet were divided in opinion; upon which Annius in a long harangue laid before them their own strength and flourishing condition; the credit they had with their neighbours, so as to be able to engage even the Roman colonies in their cause; the present weakness of the republic, sufficiently discovered in the answer given by the senate to the Samnite deputies; and in conclusion exhorted the assembly to shake off all dependence upon Rome, and even to refuse an alliance with her, unless she would consent, that one of her consuls and the half of her senate should for the future be chosen out of the Latines: and he offered to go in person to Rome, and make this demand in the presence of the senate and people, and even of Jupiter Capitolinus himself.

This motion being universally applauded, Annius with nine more ambassadors appeared soon after in presence of the conscript fathers assembled in the capitol. The consul Manlius spoke first, and in the name of the senate forbade the Latines to make war against the Samnites. To this Annius, more like a conqueror who had taken the capitol by force of arms, than an ambassador protected by the law of nations, answered, "that the Romans had chosen an ill time to give their orders in such an arbitrary manner, when the Latines were in nothing inferior to them. That in a union

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Livy, B. 8.  
c. 5.

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dred thirty-  
nine.

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sulship.

Livy, B. 8.  
c. 6.

between two nations, where the strength on both sides was equal, the authority likewise should be equally shared ;” and then he made the demand before-mentioned: which so highly provoked the consul, a man no less haughty and passionate than the Latine prætor, that not being able to contain his anger, he loudly declared, “ that if the conscript fathers should ever fall into such a madness, as to receive the law from a citizen of Setia, he would himself enter the senate-house sword in hand, and kill every Latine he should find there.” Then turning to the statue of Jupiter, he invoked the god to be witness of the pride and ingratitude of the Latines. The rest of the senators joined their exclamations, full of disdain, to those of the consul ; while Annius, as some say, in return to their repeated invocations of the gods, who had been witnesses of the leagues and treaties between the republic and the Latines, raised his voice, and scoffed at the Roman Jupiter. Certain it is, that he left the senate-house in a rage, and retired with such precipitation, that stumbling at the threshold of the door, he fell from the top of the steps to the bottom, and for some time lay senseless. Manlius coming, by the senate’s order, to dismiss the ambassadors, and seeing Annius prostrate on the ground, loudly broke out into these expressions : “ It goes well !—Gods ! You begin a holy war !—Yes, there is a power above ! Thou hast a being, great Jupiter ! And it is not without reason that we have consecrated this



temple to thee, as the father of gods and men !  
 —Why, Romans, why, conscript fathers, do we delay one moment to take arms when we have the gods for our leaders? I will lay the legions of the Latines as low, as their ambassador now lies before you.” These words, highly applauded by the people, raised such a spirit in them, that the care of the magistrates, rather than any regard to the law of nations, preserved the ambassadors from being insulted at their departure.

IV. THE senate having passed a decree for a war with the Latines, the consuls raised two armies, marched them through the countries of the Marci and Peligni, and being joined by the Samnites, encamped in the neighbourhood of Capua, where the forces of the Latines and their confederates were assembled. The night following, Manlius and Decius are said to have seen, in their sleep, a man of a gigantic stature and majestic look, who told them, “ that the victory was decreed to that army of the two, whose general should devote himself to the Dii Manes.” As soon as it was day the consuls communicated their dreams to each other; expiatory sacrifices were offered to avert the anger of the gods; and the aruspices being consulted, pretended to make such discoveries in the entrails of the victims as confirmed the dreams. Hereupon, the lieutenants, and the tribunes of the soldiers, being called together, the will of the gods was imparted to them, lest the voluntary death (not known to be such) of a consul should strike a terror into the army;

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and it was agreed between the two consuls, that he, whose troops should first give way, should rush into the midst of the enemy's battalions; and devote himself to certain death, to save his country.

V. IN the same council of war it was determined, that the ancient strict discipline should be observed, and that no officer or soldier should dare to fight with the enemy out of his rank; and this was proclaimed through all the camp; a precaution extremely necessary at this time, when the Romans were at war with the Latines, with whom they were personally acquainted, (having often served together) who spoke the same language, were armed after the same manner, and observed the same way of fighting, and of marshalling their troops. It happened soon after, that young Manlius, the consul's son, being at the head of a detachment of horse, met an advanced squadron of the enemy, whose commander knowing him, challenged him to single combat. Manlius, piqued in point of honour, and forgetting the late order of the generals, accepted the challenge, killed his adversary, stripped him of his armour; and, loaded with the glorious spoils, came straight to his father's tent: "Father, I have followed your example, and proved myself your son: I was challenged, like you, by an enemy to single combat; I have slain him; and I here lay his spoils at your feet." The consul turned his back upon his son, ordered the troops to be assembled, and then in their presence made him

Livy, B. 8.  
c. 7.

this reply: "Since you, Titus Manlius, in contempt of the consular dignity and the authority of a father, and in contradiction to my express orders, have been so rash as to leave your rank to fight the enemy; since you have destroyed, as far as in you lay, that military discipline which has been hitherto the support of the Roman people, and reduced me to the hard necessity of forgetting myself and mine, or the regard I owe to the public interest, Rome must not suffer the punishment of your fault; we must expiate it ourselves. A sad example shall we be, but a wholesome one to the youth of the Roman soldiery. As for me, both the innate affection of a father for a son, and that specimen which thou, deceived by a vain appearance of honour, hast given of thy valour, move me exceedingly; but since either the consular authority must be established by thy death, or quite destroyed by thy impunity, I cannot think, if there be any of the Manlian blood in thee, thou wilt be backward to repair the breach thou hast made in the military discipline, by undergoing the punishment due to thy offence." This said, he ordered the lictors<sup>2</sup> to tie him to a stake, and strike off his head. All present were stunned at the cruel sentence, as if it had been pronounced against themselves; and if they continued quiet, it was more out of fear and astonishment than modesty. And no sooner was the young man

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<sup>2</sup> According to Zonaras, B. 7. Manlius first crowned his son as a victor.



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beheaded, and his blood seen to gush out, than, coming to themselves, they vented their anger in imprecations and invectives against the father : but, as to the son, they covered his dead body with the spoils of the Latine whom he had vanquished, and expressed their affection for him by the most pompous obsequies which they could, in the field, perform to his honour. Extreme and excessive doubtless was this severity of Manlius : nevertheless, it had this good effect, that it made his army wonderfully tractable for the future, and strictly observant of discipline, which proved of great moment in the general engagement with the enemy a few days after.

Livy, B. 8.  
c. 8.

VI. THE Romans on a day of battle drew up their soldiers in three lines, distinguished by the names of the HASTATI, the PRINCIPES, and the TRIarii.

The HASTATI, who composed the first line, had their name from the javelins called *hastæ*, which they bore.

Varro, B.  
4. de Ling.  
Lat.

The PRINCIPES, who made the second line, were so called because originally they were placed in the front of the battle, and began<sup>3</sup> the attack ; and in those times they were generally the richest and the noblest of the Roman youth. They fought with swords.

The TRIarii were so named because they made the third line. They were commonly veterans, or hardy old soldiers, the main strength

Mr. Kennet thinks it probable, that this was before the institution of the hastati.

and hopes of their party. They bore the javelin called *pilum*; whence they had the name of *pilani milites*; and for the same reason the soldiers of the two lines before them had that of *antepilani* <sup>4</sup>.

<sup>4</sup> How differently soever the *hastati*, *principes*, and *triarii* might be armed in these times, they afterwards bore much the same arms; and therefore Polybius has not divided them in his description, but speaks of them all together.

In Polybius's time, a legion of four thousand men had six hundred *triarii*, twelve hundred *principes*, and as many *hastati*; the rest were *VELITES*. If the legion happened to be more numerous, each of the three last corps was increased in proportion, but the *TRIarii* never exceeded six hundred.

The *VELITES* were commonly young men of mean condition; they had their name *à volando*, or *à velocitate*, from their swiftness or expedition. They hovered in loose order before the army. Their arms were—

The Spanish sword, which the Romans thought of the best shape and temper, and fittest for execution, being something like the Turkish scimeter, but more sharp at the point. The soldiers wore it on their right side.

*Hastæ*, or light and slender javelins. Each man had seven.

*Parma*, a kind of round buckler, three feet in diameter, of wood covered with leather.

*Galerus*, a light casque for their head, generally made of the skin of some wild beast.

The arms of the *HASTATI*, *PRINCIPES*, and *TRIarii* (beside the sword above-mentioned) were the *scutum*, the *pilum*, the *galea*, and the *lorica*.

The *scutum* was a buckler of wood, the parts being joined together with little plates of iron, and the whole covered with a bull's hide. An iron plate went about it without to keep off blows, and another within to hinder it from taking any damage by lying on the ground. In the middle was an iron boss or *umbo* jutting out, very serviceable to glance off stones and darts, and sometimes to press violently upon the enemy, and drive all before them. They

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Originally each of these three lines was entire, there were no breaks or intervals between the manipuli or companies that composed it; nor were there any void spaces left between the lines, so that the whole body of infantry was close and compact, like the Macedonian phalanx.

are to be distinguished from the clypei, which were less, and quite round, belonging more properly to other nations, though for some little time used by the Romans. The scuta themselves were of two kinds; the oyata and the imbricata; the former is a plain oval figure, the other oblong, and bending inward like half a cylinder. Polybius makes the cuta four feet long, and Plutarch \* calls them *ποδῆραις*, reaching down to the feet. And it is very probable that they covered almost the whole body, since in Livy † we meet with soldiers who stood on the guard, sometimes sleeping with their head on their shield, having fixed the other part of it on the earth.

The pilum was a missive weapon, which in a charge they darted at the enemy. It was commonly four-square, but sometimes round, composed of a piece of wood about three cubits long, and a slip of iron of the same length, hooked and jagged at the end. They took abundance of care in joining the two parts together, and did it so artificially, that it would sooner break in the iron itself than in the joint. Every man had two of these pila; and this number the poets alluded to:

*Bina manu lato crispans hastilia ferro.*

Virg. *Æn.* i. 317.

*Quæ duo sola manu gestans acclivis monti*

*Fixerat, intorquet jacula——*

Statius, *Theb.* 2.

C. Marius ‡ in the Cimbrian war contrived these pila after a new fashion; for, before, where the wood was joined to the iron, it was made fast with two iron pins; now Marius let one of them alone as it was, and pulling

\* Plut. in P. *Æmil.*

† B. 44.

‡ Plut. in Marius.



But at the time of this war of the Romans with the Latines, the method of marshalling the troops was different.

Between the first and second lines was a space of fifty feet; and the TRIARI were drawn up at the distance of an hundred feet behind the PRINCIPES.

out the other; put a weak wooden peg in its place; contriving it so, that when it was struck in the enemy's shield, it should not stand outright as formerly; but the wooden peg breaking, the iron should bend, and so the javelin sticking fast by its crooked point, should weigh down the shield.

The galea was a headpiece, or morrion, coming down to the shoulders, commonly of brass.

The lorica was a brigandine, or coat of mail, generally made of leather, and worked over with little hooks of iron, and sometimes adorned with small scales of thin gold; as we find in Virgil:

*Loricum concertam hamis.* Æn. iii. 467.

And,

*Nec duplici squamâ lorica fidelis et auro.*

Æn. ix. 707.

Sometimes the lorica were a sort of linen cassocs, such as Suetonius attributes to Galba, and like that of Alexander in Plutarch; or those of the Spanish troops described by Polybius in his account of the battle of Cannæ.

The poorer soldiers, who were rated under a thousand drachms, instead of this brigandine, wore a pectorale or breastplate of thin brass about twelve fingers square; and this, with what have been already described, rendered them completely armed; unless we add the ocreæ, or greaves, which they wore on their legs; which perhaps they borrowed (as many other customs) from the Grecians, so well known by the title of—*ἐνερμηίδες Ἀχαιοί*.

In the elder times of the Romans, their horse used only a round shield, with a helmet on their head, and a couple of javelins in their hands, great part of their body being left without defence. But, as soon as they found the great

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Justus Lipsius de Mil. Rom. B. 4. c. 1.

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nine.

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sulship.

And as spaces were left between the lines, so likewise between the MANIPULI, or companies of each line. But these openings were not so disposed, as to yield a direct passage to the enemy from the front of the army to the rear. The manipuli of the second line stood behind the openings of the first, and the manipuli of the third behind those of the second, so that the order of the whole resembled that of a quincunx.

When the HASTATI happened to be overpowered, they retired softly toward the PRINCIPES, fell into the intervals of their ranks, and together with them renewed the fight. But if the PRINCIPES and the HASTATI thus joined were too weak to sustain the fury of the battle, they all fell back into the wider intervals of the TRIARI; and then all together being united into a firm mass, they made another effort much more impetuous than any before: if this assault proved ineffectual, the day was entirely lost as to the foot, there being no further reserves<sup>5</sup>.

inconveniences to which they were hereby exposed, they began to arm themselves like the Grecian horse, or much like their own foot, only their shield was a little shorter and squarer, and their lance or javelin thicker with spikes at each end, that if one miscarried, the other might be serviceable. *Kenn. Antiq. P. II. B. IV. Ch. IX.*

<sup>5</sup> The stratagem of rallying thus by means of these openings in the lines, has been reckoned almost the whole art and secret of the Roman discipline, and it was almost impossible it should prove unsuccessful, if duly observed: for fortune, in every engagement, must have failed them three several times, before they could be routed; and the enemy must have had the strength and resolution to overcome them in three several encounters for the decision of

Livy speaks of the RORARII and the ACCENSI, as two corps of troops that were a kind of supernumeraries to the TRIARII, but not soldiers equal to them for strength or courage.

In the middle of the space between the PRINCIPES and the TRIARII, where stood the Roman eagles, the consuls and lieutenant generals took their posts. Behind the generals the TRIARII (while the hastati and principes were fighting) kept firm with their right knees on the ground, their great bucklers on their shoulders, and resting themselves on their spears, which, pointing upwards, formed a palisade before them.

As for the Roman cavalry, they were always posted at the two corners of the army, like wings on a body, and fought sometimes on foot and sometimes on horseback, like our dragoons. At this time there were but three hundred to a legion of five thousand foot. Of four such legions and twelve hundred horse, the present army consisted.

The consuls Manlius and Decius, before they drew their troops out of the camp, offered sacrifices to the gods. It is said that the aruspex showed to Decius the liver of his victim wounded in the friendly side <sup>6</sup> (a bad omen for

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCCXIII.  
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Three hundred thirty-  
nine.

115th Con-  
sulship.

Livy, B. 8.  
c. 9.

one battle; whereas most other nations, and even the Grecians themselves, drawing up their whole army as it were in one front, trusted themselves and their fortunes to the success of a single charge. Kennet's Antiq. Part II. Book IV. Ch. X.

<sup>6</sup> A familiari parte. The other was the enemy's side of the liver, where their doom was to be read.



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dred thirty-  
nine.

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sulship.

him;) but declared that the beast had no other mark of being unacceptable to the gods; and that, as to Manlius's victim, the signs were as favourable as could be wished. "It is enough," said DECIVS; "all is well, if my colleague has engaged the gods to be propitious to him."

When the day of battle came, Manlius commanded the right wing, Decius the left. It was fought on both sides at first with equal strength and courage; but at length the Roman hastati of the left wing were forced to give ground, and retire into the intervals of the principes. This disadvantage put Decius in mind of his agreement with his colleague on occasion of their dreams. He called out therefore to Valerius the pontifex maximus, to perform on him the ceremony of consecration, in order to his devotement to death to save his legions. Valerius bid him put on his pretexta<sup>7</sup>, cover his head, put forth his hand under his robe to his chin, and then standing with both his feet upon his javelin repeat after him the following words: "O Janus, Jupiter, father Mars, Quirinus, Bellona; O ye Lares, ye Novensiles<sup>8</sup>, ye deified heroes<sup>\*</sup>, ye gods who have power over us and our enemies, ye gods of hell, I honour you, invoke you, and humbly entreat you to prosper the arms of the Roman people,

\* Indigetes.

<sup>7</sup> White robe, bordered with purple.

<sup>8</sup> Nine deities, according to Varro, brought to Rome by the Sabines; viz. Lara, Vesta, Minerva, Feronia, Concord, Good Faith, Fortune, Chance, Health. Some take them to be the Nine Muses. C. & R.

and to strike their enemies with terror, affright, and death; and I do for the safety of the Roman people and their legions devote myself, and with myself, the legions and auxiliaries of our enemies, to the infernal gods and the goddess of the earth."

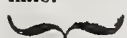
Having made this prayer, he ordered his lictors to go in all haste, and tell his colleague Manlius, that he had devoted himself for the safety of the Roman army. Then tucking up his robe, and girding it about him, he mounted his horse, and rode full speed into the thickest of the enemies' battalions. Livy says, that he appeared to them more than human, and that at the sight of him, they seemed as if they were planet struck; and that he was no sooner fallen to the ground with numberless wounds, than the Latine cohorts all around him dispersed themselves and fled<sup>9</sup>. As for the hastati and principes of the Roman left wing, they instantly renewed the charge, like men who had just received the signal to begin the fight; and they were strengthened by the *rorarii* from the rear; the *triarii*, with their right knees on the ground, still keeping their post.

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nine.

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sulship.

<sup>9</sup> Cicero (B. 3. de Nat. Deor.) derides that superstitious credulity, which ascribed such wonderful effects to these devotements. He could not conceive how men of sense could form to themselves any such beings as mischievous gods, who thirsted after human blood. So that he looked on these voluntary devotements as no more at bottom than heroic acts of valour, or the last efforts of generals, who, when their troops were disheartened and broken, threw themselves into the midst of the enemy's battalions, in order to engage their soldiers to follow them. C. & R.

Year of  
R O M E  
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Bef. J. C.  
Three hun-  
dred thirty-  
nine.



115th Con-  
sulship.

Livy, B. 8.  
c. 10.

The battle continued, and the Latines, superior in number, had the better in other parts of the field, when the news was brought to Manlius of his colleague's death. Having let fall some tears, and given him the praises due, he remained a short moment in doubt, whether he should then give the signal for the triarii to rise; but judging it more prudent to reserve them for the finishing blow, he commanded the accensi<sup>10</sup> from the rear to the van. The enemy taking these fresh troops to be the Roman triarii, instantly ordered their own triarii to the charge; and this proved the loss of the battle to the Latines; for when they had wearied themselves, and broken or blunted their weapons in repulsing the Romans once more, and when, after they had repulsed what they fancied to be the last reserve of their enemies, they thought themselves sure of the victory, the Roman triarii by order of Manlius appeared on a sudden, as if they had started out of the ground. Their arms were shining, and their strength entire. Having received the hastati and principes into the intervals of their ranks, they first gave a shout that dismayed the enemy, and then fell upon them with such fury, and made so terrible a slaughter, that scarce a fourth part of their army escaped.

This battle was fought not far from Mount Vesuvius. During the action the Samnites,

<sup>10</sup> Father Rouillé on this occasion speaks of the accensi, as light-armed soldiers, who fought with slings; but if so, how could the Latines mistake them for the Roman triarii?



drawn up in battalia, at the foot of that mountain, served to keep the Latines in fear: or perhaps (as some writers reported) they came to the assistance of the Romans, after the conflict was over. Manlius acquired great honour by his conduct in this important day; both Latines and Romans agreeing afterwards in opinion, that whichever army he had commanded must have been victorious.

Those of the Latines who escaped the slaughter, and were scattered about the country, collected themselves soon after into one body, and took shelter at Vescia, near the Liris. Here Numicius their general exhorted and encouraged them to try the fortune of arms once more with the Romans; and his motion was approved. In order to get an augmentation of his troops, he artfully caused letters to be spread about in Latium, and the country of the Volsci, representing the flight of the Latines as only an honourable retreat, and by this means he drew to his camp many who had not assisted at the late action; and having thus hastily formed a new army, he marched immediately away, taking the road to Capua. Manlius, informed of the enemy's motions, met them in their march, gave them another overthrow, and then entered Latium to lay it waste. He met with no resistance; the Latine towns surrendered at discretion, as did Privernum in the territory of the Volsci. Campania was likewise totally brought into subjection. The consul dispossessed the Campanians, Latines, and Privernates of their estates, and distri-

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCCXIII.  
Bef. J. C.  
Three hundred thirty-nine.

115th Consulship.

Livy, B. 8.  
c. 11.

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCCXIII.  
Bef. J. C.  
Three hun-  
dred thirty-  
nine.

115th Con-  
sulship.

buted them among the commons of Rome. However, the Latines and Campanians were not all deprived of their estates without distinction. The Laurentini in Latium, and the Campanian knights, to the number of sixteen hundred, had not been concerned in the revolt; and they were therefore continued in their possessions and privileges; nay, the latter were made citizens of Rome, but without right of suffrage; and an annual pension of four hundred and fifty denarii<sup>11</sup> was assigned to each of them out of the public revenues of Campania.

Fast. Capit.  
Livy, B. 8.  
c. 12.

Manlius had deserved the honours of a triumph, and doubtless he obtained them (though Livy says nothing of it). But he could not recover the good-will of the Roman youth; they bore him an implacable hatred for his severity, none but the old men went out to meet him at his return to Rome. Soon after, he fell sick; and as a Roman general was wanted in the field, to oppose some fresh incursions of the Antiates, he named to the dictatorship L. Papirius Crassus, who appointed L. Papirius Cursor to be his master of the horse. The dictator kept his troops some months in the field at free quarter, and then returned to the city, to preside at the election of new consuls.

VII. It had been customary, for some time past, to observe the law which directed to choose one of the two consuls out of the plebeians;

<sup>11</sup> 14*l.* 10*s.* 7½*d.* Arbutnot.

and now Q. Publilius, a plebeian, was joined with Tib. Æmilius, a patrician, in the government. The former proving successful in an expedition against a body of Latines, (rebellious on account of their lands being taken from them) obtained the honours of a triumph. Upon which Æmilius, jealous of his colleague's glory, demanded the same honours, as the reward for some advantage he had gained over another body of Latines assembled at Pedum, though he had not finished his expedition; but the conscript fathers absolutely refused his request, till he should take that place either by surrendry or assault, a refusal so highly resented by Æmilius, that never did any tribune of the commons inveigh more bitterly against the nobility than the patrician consul did on this occasion. The subject of his harangues was the unequal distribution the senate had made of the lands in Latium; and he began to raise a disturbance. The senate, to put an end to it, ordered him to name a dictator, under pretence of carrying on the war more vigorously against the Latines. Æmilius obeyed, but at the same time revenged himself on the conscript fathers, by nominating his plebeian colleague Publilius, who appointed Brutus Sæva, another plebeian, to be his general of the horse. The dictator being a man entirely devoted to the commons, immediately seized this favourable opportunity to establish their rights, and even to extend their privileges. And these things he effected by three laws which he passed, 1. That the decrees made by

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCCXIV.  
Bef. J. C.  
Three hundred thirty-eight.

116th Consulship.

Livy, B. 8.  
c. 12.



Year of  
R O M E  
CCCCXIV.  
Bef. J. C.  
Three hun-  
dred thirty-  
eight.

116th Con-  
sulship.

the commons, at the request of their tribunes, should be observed by all the Romans [the Quirites<sup>12</sup>.] 2. That, for the future, the laws which were to be passed by the centuries should be authorized<sup>13</sup> by the senate before they were put to the vote, in the *comitia*; whereas hitherto the *comitia centuriata* had used to pass the laws first, and the senate to accept or reject them as they pleased. 3. That one of the censors should always for the future be a plebeian.

Livy, B. 8.  
c. 13.

The senate, much mortified at this downfall of the patricians, resolved to revenge themselves on Æmilius; and, knowing him to be very tender of his honour, attacked him on that side. To show the Romans how negligently he had conducted himself in the discharge of the commission he had received to finish the Latine war, they ordered the new consuls, L. Furius Camillus, grandson of the great Camillus, and C. Mænius, a plebeian, to undertake the same enterprise, and to lay siege to Pedum. And that the generals might not be foiled in the attempt, they plentifully furnished them with men, provisions, arms, and proper engines. Upon the report of Camillus's march to besiege Pedum, the forces of Tybur, Præneste, Aricia, Lanuvium, Velitræ, and Antium

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCCXV.  
Bef. J. C.  
Three hun-  
dred thirty-  
seven.

117th Con-  
sulship.

<sup>12</sup> Ut plebiscita omnes Quirites tenerent. This law seems to be of the same import with that passed by Horatius and Valerius in 304, the year after the decemvirate.

<sup>13</sup> Ut legum, quæ comitiis centuriatis ferrentur, ante initum suffragium patres auctores fierent.

hastened to relieve the place; but these troops were defeated, and Camillus the same day took the town by assault. The consuls having finished the war, and totally subdued Latium, returned to Rome, where they not only had the honours of a triumph, but, by order of the republic, two equestrian statues erected for them in the Forum.

And now the great affair in the senate was to determine the fate of the conquered. Camillus, in his harangue upon this occasion, told the fathers, that the success of their arms against the Latines had been such, that it now depended on their pleasure whether LATIUM should be any more; but that it deserved their consideration, whether it would not be of greater advantage to the republic to show mercy to the conquered, and admit them to the privileges of Roman citizens, thereby increasing the number of her subjects, than utterly to exterminate them, and reduce their country to a desert. The consul declared himself for the first, and the conscript fathers in general were inclined to clemency: but as some of the Latine cities had been more criminal than others, they made a distinction in their treatment of them. Lanuvium, Aricia, Nomentum, and Pedum, were made Roman municipia<sup>14</sup>; their soldiers were to be incorporated in the legions, and to be no longer upon

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCCXV.  
Bef. J. C.  
Three hundred thirty-seven.

117th Consulship.

Livy, B. 8.  
c. 14.

<sup>14</sup> The privileges granted by the Romans to the municipal towns were more or less, according to the services they had done in the republic. The citizens of some municipia had only the title of Roman citizens. Others en-

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCCXV.  
Bef. J. C.  
Three hun-  
dred thirty-  
seven.

117th Con-  
sulship.

\* Flor. B.  
l. c. 11.

the foot of auxiliaries. Tusculum had had the same privilege before, and it was now confirmed. But Velitræ was razed, and its senate and inhabitants banished to another city, beyond the Tiber, because it had often rebelled since it was made a Roman colony (in the year 261). Antium was not destroyed; the Antiates were granted the freedom of Roman citizens; but they were forbidden the sea; and their fleet, consisting of six gallies\*, was partly burnt, and partly carried away into the Roman ports. With the brass beaks [rostra] of these vessels the consul Mænius adorned the pulpit, from whence the Roman magistrates harangued the people, and hence it was ever after called the rostra. The inhabitants of Tybur and Præneste were deprived of all their lands for having formerly assisted the Gauls; and lastly, all the Latines in general were forbidden to assemble their diets as formerly; to marry out of their respective cities; or to have common markets or fairs for trade.

As for Cumæ and Suessula, and the other cities of Campania, they were treated as Capua had been, i. e. their lands were all taken from them, and divided among the Romans. Thus a three years war was ended in the subduing of two fine countries to the republic; and the Latines, from being the allies of Rome, became her subjects.

joyed all the privileges properly belonging to that title. They were enrolled in the tribes, had a right of suffrage, could stand candidates for offices, and served in the army upon the foot of legionaries.



## CHAP. XI.

I. PUBLILIUS, though a plebeian, obtains the PRÆTORSHIP ; so that all the great dignities in the state, except those of the priesthood, are now common to the two orders.

*From this year 416, to the year 425, the most memorable events are,*

*The invention of moveable towers and covered galleries, by the consul M. Valerius Corvus (in the year 418) at the siege of Cales, the chief city of the Ausones, allies of the Sidicini. The republic's changing the custom of raising a new army upon every change of consuls. The reduction of the Sidicini (probably in 420). The addition of two new tribes (in 421) to the twenty-seven old ones. A plot formed (in 422) by some hundreds of Roman women to poison their husbands. The revolt of Privernum (in 423). The reduction of that city (in 424), and the courageous and noble answer given by one of the citizens, when questioned by the Roman senate concerning the conduct which the Privernates would observe for the future.*

I. ROME had never been in a better condition to attempt the conquest of all Italy than now, when those warm contentions for power at home, which had often retarded the progress of the Roman arms abroad, were at an end. The plebeians shared almost all the great offices in the state with the patricians ; the consulship, quæstorship, ædileship, and censorship : they were excluded only from the prætorship and the sacerdotal dignities. And in the following year, when C. Sulpicius Longus and P. Ælius Pætus were in possession of the fasces, Publius, a plebeian, stood candidate for the prætorship, and obtained it. The consul Sulpicius had refused to admit his name among

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCCXVI.  
Bef. J. C.  
Three hundred thirty-six.

118th Consulship.

Livy, B. 8.  
c. 15.

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCCXVI.  
Bef. J. C.  
Three hun-  
dred thirty-  
six.

118th Con-  
sulship.

those of the other candidates; but the senate were easy in the matter, thinking it perhaps unreasonable and absurd, that a plebeian, who had been consul and dictator, should merely on account of his birth be excluded from the prætorship. And thus the plebeians being arrived at the height of their desires, (for they did not yet pretend to the pontificate and augurate) all pretences for faction were entirely taken away. Real personal merit, not high birth, not the merit of men's ancestors, was now chiefly regarded in the distribution of honours: so that this period of time may more properly, than any of the former, be called the age of ROMAN VIRTUE.

The republic, through the indolence of her present consuls, neglected to revenge the Aurunci on their enemies the Sidicini, who this year had invaded their country, and made themselves masters of their principal city. The Aurunci had submitted to the Romans in the consulship of Manlius Torquatus, and had continued faithful amidst all the confusions of the Latine war. They well deserved therefore to be succoured; and accordingly the consuls of the new year, L. Papirius and Cæso Duilius, were now ordered to lead an army to their assistance; and though the Ausones joined their neighbours the Sidicini, these united forces were easily put to the rout. They fled for shelter behind the walls of their cities; and the consuls returned to Rome, without reaping much glory from the campaign.

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCCXVII.  
Bef. J. C.  
Three hun-  
dred thirty-  
five.

119th Con-  
sulship.

But in the following consulship of M. Valerius Corvus (now raised to that dignity a fourth time) and M. Atilius Regulus, the former (to whom his colleague, at the request of the senate, had yielded the command of the army without drawing lots) laid siege to Cales, the chief city of the Ausones. He invented covered galleries and moveable towers for screening his men, and carrying on the attacks, and at length took the place by assault.

After this the two consuls, having first nominated a dictator to preside at the ensuing elections, joined their forces, and marched against the Sidicini; but notwithstanding that they used all expedition to finish their conquest before the expiration of their year, they were forced to leave the completion of it to their successors, T. Veturius Calvinus and Sp. Posthumus Albinus. As soon as these new magistrates were named, and before they entered on their office, they, to make themselves acceptable to the commons, solicited and obtained a decree for settling a colony of Roman citizens at Cales, and dividing the district of that city among them; and that the distribution of the lands might be made the more equally, the senate chose out three persons of known equity to conduct and settle the colony, consisting of two thousand five hundred men.

The Romans seem at this time to have quite abolished that custom they formerly had, of raising a new army upon every change of chief magistrates. An army raised by one general

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCCXVIII.  
Bef. J. C.  
Three hundred thirty-four.

120th Consulship.

Livy, B. 8.  
c. 16.

Fast. Capit.

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCCXIX.  
Bef. J. C.  
Three hundred thirty-three.

121st Consulship.



Year of  
R O M E  
CCCCXIX.  
Bef. J. C.  
Three hun-  
dred thirty-  
three.

121st Con-  
sulship.  
Livy, B. 8.  
c. 17.

now passed from him to his successor, and so on till the end of the war. Accordingly, Veturius and Posthumius put themselves at the head of the troops which Corvus had commanded, and entered the country of the Sidicini; who, to avoid a battle, suffered their territory to be laid waste, and appeared no more in the field. Nevertheless, a report was spread at Rome, after the return of the consuls, that the Sidicini had once more assembled a formidable army, and were joined by the Samnites, which caused so great an alarm, that the consuls, by order of the senate, named a dictator, as in a time of imminent danger. Their choice fell upon P. Cornelius Rufinus. This supreme magistrate however soon abdicated, upon some pretended defect in his inauguration. Nay, superstition prevailed so far at this time, that because a plague raged at Rome, and because the college of Augurs declared, that all the auspices of the year had been infected by the contagious air, the chief magistrates were all displaced, and the republic fell into an interregnum.

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCCXX.  
Bef. J. C.  
Three hun-  
dred thirty-  
two.

122d Con-  
sulship.

Livy says nothing of what happened in the year 420, when L. Papirius Cursor and C. Pœtelius Libo Visolus were consuls, according to the Fasti Capitolini. It was very probably a year barren of events, unless the Sidicini were then subdued, which is not unlikely, since we find no other epoch of their reduction.

\* A second  
time.

In the succeeding consulship of A. Cornelius\* and Cn. Domitius, a rumour, that those terrible enemies, the Gauls, were preparing

for a war with the republic, occasioned the sudden nomination of M. Pipirius Crassus to be dictator; but while he was levying troops to oppose their attempts, more certain accounts came that all was quiet on that side. Some suspicion of the Samnites at this time prevailing, the dictator would not withdraw from the country of the Sidicini a Roman army that was there encamped. The Samnites were indeed raising troops, but it was to defend Italy against Alexander, king of Epirus, who, under pretence of succouring the Tarentines, (then at war with the Lucanians and Bruttians) had made a descent at Pæstum, and began to grow formidable to all the eastern parts of Italy. What suspended the progress of his arms is unknown; but, after some small advantages obtained against the enemies of the Tarentines, he made a treaty with the Romans.

The late addition of so many new citizens as Rome had received since the reduction of the Latines, made it necessary to take a new census, and to increase the number of the tribes. To the twenty-seven, already in being, were added the Mæcian and Scaptian; [the first near Lanuvium, the second between Tybur and Præneste.]

But in the midst of this repose from foreign alarms, and in the beginning of the new consulship of M. Claudius Marcellus and C. Valerius Potitus, there sprung up in the bosom of the republic a new kind of monsters, more terrible than any army of invaders from abroad.

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCCXXI.  
Bef. J. C.  
Three hundred thirty-one.

123d Consulship.

Livy, B. 8.  
c. 17.

Justin, B.  
12. c. 2.

Livy, B. 8.  
c. 17.

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCCXXII.  
Bef. J. C.  
Three hundred thirty.

124th Consulship.

Year of  
R O M E  
ccccxxii.  
Bef. J. C.  
Three hun-  
dred thirty.

124th Con-  
sulship.

Oros. B. 3.  
c. 10.

Val. Max.

B. 2. c. 5.

Livy, B. 8.  
c. 18.

Some women of distinction, to the number of one hundred and seventy, according to some, or three hundred and sixty, according to others, formed a plot to poison their husbands, and took the opportunity of an epidemical distemper to put their design in execution. Their wickedness being discovered to Fabius, one of the curule ædiles, by a she slave of one of the ladies, and their persons being seized, two of the prisoners, Sergia and Cornelia, both patrician women, were brought before the assembly of the people. Being there examined, they denied that in the medicines which they had prepared, and which had been found with them, there were any poisonous ingredients. The slave, to verify her accusation, proposed, that the two ladies should take their own potions; and the experiment was immediately ordered to be made. Upon this, Cornelia and Sergia desired to confer with her accomplices, which being granted, they all by agreement drank their own poison, and so delivered themselves from a more lingering death. The republic ascribed this unheard-of prodigy to a spirit of madness, sent as a punishment from the angry gods; to appease whom they nominated a dictator, to drive a nail into the wall of the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus.

\* A second  
time.  
Livy, B. 8.  
c. 19.

This transient dictatorship quickly gave way to the consulship of L. Papirius Crassus\* and L. Plautius Venno. In the beginning of their administration, a deputation came to Rome from the Poluscans and the inhabitants of Fa-



brateria (both in the territory of the Volsci) to demand protection against the Samnites, by whom they were threatened with an irruption. The senate did not reject their petition, but sent ambassadors to desire the Samnites to put a stop to their hostilities against those two nations. The Samnites complied, and then the republic immediately turned her arms against the Privernates. These rebels, in conjunction with some of the inhabitants of Fundi, were headed by Vitruvius Vaccus, originally of that town, which, after the Latine war, had been admitted to the rights of Roman citizenship. Vitruvius had made himself an inhabitant of Rome, and had enjoyed all the privileges of a citizen born there; but, through the mere vanity of commanding an army, had excited his countrymen to revolt. However, he durst not keep the field when the consuls appeared; he fled for refuge to Privernum. L. Plautius, with one part of the army, entered the territory of Fundi, the senators of which city came out to meet him, and endeavoured to justify themselves from having any share in the revolt. The consul wrote to Rome in their favour, and then marched to rejoin his colleague, who had already blocked up Privernum. The siege of this place was not yet over, when the senate recalled one of the consuls to Rome, to preside in the *comitia* for electing new ones.

The Romans were the terror of their neighbours; but the Gauls in Italy were the terror of

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCCXXIII.  
Bef. J. C.  
Three hundred  
twenty-nine.

125th Consulship.

Livy, B. 8.  
c. 19.

c. 20.

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCCXXIV.  
Bef. J. C.  
Three hun-  
dred twen-  
ty-eight.

126th Con-  
sulship.

\* A second  
time.

Fast. Capit.

the Romans. And the republic being alarmed at the news of the Gauls being in motion, thought fit to bring on the elections before the usual time, in order to provide fit generals for so important a war<sup>1</sup>.

L. Æmilius\* and C. Plautius, the new consuls, entered on their office the very day of their election, and they drew lots for their commands. It fell to Æmilius to act against the Gauls; his colleague was to carry on the siege of Privernum. How much the very shadow of the Gauls terrified Rome, may be judged of by the extraordinary preparations at this time to oppose them. The levies were made with the utmost rigour; no excuse was allowed; the meanest artificers, and those of sedentary occupations, were without distinction put into the roll. But after all these precautions, and many other, advice came that the Gauls were quiet; so that Æmilius joined his colleague before Privernum. The town was taken, and the rebel Vitruvius being made prisoner, was condemned by the senate to be first beaten with rods, and then beheaded. Æmilius and Plautius both triumphed on account of this new conquest; and the former, who had spent

<sup>1</sup> In the midst of these apprehensions the Romans did not forget their sports and diversions. They at this time built sumptuous porticoes at the entrance of the Circus, for a shelter to the horses, which were before so exposed to the sun, that they were often fatigued before they began the race. C. & R. All that Livy says, is, Carceres eo anno in circo primum statuti.

but little time before the place, obtained the surname of Privernus<sup>2</sup>.

What now remained was to punish the Privernates. Those of their senators who had staid in Privernum after its revolt, were condemned to the same punishment which had been inflicted on the citizens of Felitræ, that is; they were banished beyond the Tiber, and forbid to appear any more on this side of it, under the penalty of a great fine. And though the consul Plautius interceded with the senate for the innocent multitude, and particularly for the prisoners taken in the war, whom he brought to the door of the senate-house, he did not immediately draw the conscript fathers over to his sentiments; they were divided in opinion. One of the Privernates, by an haughty answer, endangered all his fellow-captives. Being asked by a senator, who inclined to rigour, what punishment he thought the Privernates deserved? "The same," said he, "which is due to men who think themselves worthy of LIBERTY." So brisk an answer exasperated some of the assembly, which Plautius perceiving, endeavoured

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Three hundred twenty-eight.

126th Consulship.

Livy, B. 8.  
c. 21.  
Val. Max.  
B. 6. c. 2.

<sup>2</sup> The Romans are sometimes reproached with unjustly giving all the glory of an enterprise to the last general concerned in it, and who finished it, notwithstanding that the former commanders had brought it to such a maturity, as to be past the danger of abortion. But it should be considered, that this conduct in a people, whose chief aim was to extend their empire, was founded in wise policy: by giving all the honour of a successful war to him who ended it, they animated their generals to exert themselves on all occasions to make a rapid conquest. C. & R.



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Three hun-  
dred twen-  
ty-eight.  
128th Con-  
sulship.

to prevent the ill effect of it, by putting a milder question to the prisoner, and which should naturally draw a softer answer from him: "Suppose," said the consul, "we should pardon you; in what manner may we expect you will behave yourselves for the future?" The prisoner answered, "If the peace you grant us be a good one, we shall maintain it faithfully and inviolably; if the terms of it be hard, do not count upon us long." These words made different impressions on the judges. Some construed them as menaces, and as indications of a disposition to a new revolt; but the greater part, and the wiser, found a magnanimity in them worthy of a man and of a free man. Those especially of the senators who had been CONSULS adhered to Plautius's opinion, who loudly declared, and repeated it often, "that a people whose only desire was LIBERTY, and whose only fear was that of losing it, were worthy to become ROMAN." Accordingly the senate passed a decree in favour of the prisoners, and Privernum was made a municipium.

## CHAP. XII.

*I. The Romans give umbrage to the Samnites, by planting a colony in their neighbourhood. And the Palæopolitans make an irruption into the Roman territory. II. A remarkable instance of the Romans' abhorrence of malice, in the prosecution of a criminal. III. A new rupture between the Roman republic and the Samnites. IV. The Romans take some towns from the Samnites. And Pub-*

*lilius takes Palæopolis by means of a stratagem laid and executed by two of the citizens: for which exploit, though he be but a proconsul, he is decreed a TRIUMPH. V. The Tarentines being jealous of the growing power of Rome, by an artful stratagem seduce the Lucanians from the Roman interest into a league with the Samnites. VI. About this time the infamous passion of a Roman, named Papi-rius, for one of his insolvent debtors, occasions the passing of a law at Rome, whereby CREDITORS are disabled from seizing the persons of their DEBTORS.*

I. IT was now customary for the Romans either to send colonies to the conquered cities, or to give the inhabitants the right of Roman citizenship. For they had found to their cost the ill consequences of that independence in which they had left the Latines after their first reduction of them. In pursuance of this new policy, the senate, in the consulship of C. Plautius Proculus and P. Cornelius Scapula, sent a colony of Romans to Fregellæ, a city in the territory of the Sidicini, which the Romans had rebuilt after the Samnites had razed it. The repairing and fortifying of this place, and the planting a colony in it, gave umbrage to the Samnites, and proved the occasion of that furious war which soon after broke out between them and the republic.

In the meantime the inhabitants of Palæopolis made incursions into the Roman territory. These people were originally Eubœans, who came into Italy and built Cumæ. From thence they spread themselves further; and a colony of Cumans built Naples, or Neapolis, *i. e.* the new city; and finding in the neighbourhood

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R O M E  
CCCCXXV.  
Bef. J. C.  
Three hun-  
dred twen-  
ty-seven.  
127th Con-  
sulship.  
Livy, B. 8.  
c. 22.

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCCXXV.  
Bef. J. C.  
Three hun-  
dred twen-  
ty-seven.

127th Con-  
sulship.

Val. Max.  
B. 8. c. 1.

of Naples a town ready built, they possessed themselves of it, and called it Palæpolis, or Palaiopolis, *i. e.* the old city.

II. THE news of this irruption of the Palæopolitans was brought to Rome just before the holding of the assemblies of the tribes and of the centuries ; the first for the election of tribunes of the people, the second for that of consuls. It is remarkable, that in the *comitia* by tribes, the people at this time chose one Q. Flavius, a man of a most infamous character, to be one of their tribunes. The occasion of it was extraordinary. He had been accused not long before of doing violence to a lady. Valerius, one of the curule ædiles, was his chief prosecutor ; and the evidence was clear. Fourteen of the twenty-nine tribes had already voted him guilty, when the accused, in order to move the rest of his judges to favour him, made vehement protestations, and called heaven and earth to witness his innocence. Upon this, Valerius cried out with a louder voice, “ What is it to me whether thou art guilty or innocent provided thou be destroyed ? ” The tribes were so offended at these words, that they acquitted the criminal by a majority of suffrages. Flavius, soon after, lost his mother ; and it being then customary to offer sacrifices in honour of the dead, he offered a greater number of victims than usual, and, in gratitude to the people for their late favour, distributed the flesh among them. They in return now chose him tribune, though absent.



III. THE *comitia* by centuries appointed L. Cornelius Lentulus and Q. Publilius Philo\* to be the new consuls. Publilius marched an army towards Palæpolis, and foreseeing that this place would not easily be taken while supplied with men and provisions from Naples, he prudently encamped his troops in the narrow tract of ground between the two cities. In the meantime Cornelius, who had posted himself with another army near Capua, to keep the Campanians in awe, (who were thought to be gained over by the Samnites to join them against Rome) received undoubted intelligence, that the Samnites openly solicited the Roman colonies to revolt. Upon this the senate dispatched ambassadors into Samnium, to learn the reason of a conduct so contrary to the faith of treaties. The ambassadors met with a haughty reception. The Samnites complained of the proceedings of the republic, and particularly of the rebuilding and fortifying of Fregellæ, which (they said) was a wrong done to the Samnite nation; and to reproaches they added even menaces. The ambassadors, without losing their temper, proposed to refer the matter to the arbitration of their common allies. "Arbitrators!" cried the Samnites, "we will have none, but the gods and our swords; battles will determine our pretensions better than words and judges; Mars shall put an end to our disputes, in the plains of Campania. Let our armies face each other between Capua and Suessula, and there try, whether the Samnites

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R O M E  
CCCCXXVI.  
Bef. J. C.  
Three hun-  
dred twen-  
ty-six.

128th Con-  
sulship.

\* A second  
time.

Livy, B. 8.  
c. 23.

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R O M E  
CCCCXXVII  
Bef. J. C.  
Three hun-  
dred twen-  
ty-five.

129th Con-  
sulship.

Livy, B. 8.  
c. 25.

or the Romans shall be lords of Italy." The ambassadors replied, "We shall not go whither our enemies invite us; but whithersoever our generals shall think fit to lead us."

IV. SUCH was the situation of affairs abroad when the time drew near for the new elections. The senate, without recalling the consuls to Rome, ordered a dictator to be named to preside at them. But when Cornelius had nominated M. Claudius Marcellus, a plebeian, the augurs pretended, for some frivolous reason, that the nomination was invalid; and though the tribunes charged the college with imposture, and with pretending religion, when their view was only to wound the plebeian interest, the government fell into an interregnum; and then the *comitia* chose C. Poetilius Libo and L. Papirius Mugillanus consuls for the ensuing year. They put themselves at the head of the army which Cornelius had commanded, and with which he had already entered Samnium, and they had the good fortune to be joined by the people of Lucania and Apulia, two nations to which the Romans had been hitherto almost utter strangers. With this reinforcement they penetrated further into the enemy's country, ravaged their lands, and took three towns from them.

But these conquests were of little moment in comparison of that made by Publilius, whom the people, at the motion of their tribunes, had continued in the command of the army before Palæopolis, with the title of proconsul.

He had already, as was before-mentioned, cut off the communication between that place and Naples, so that the besieged were much straitened for want of provisions. Nor was this the greatest calamity which the Palæopolitans suffered. Four thousand Samnites, and two thousand of the inhabitants of Nola, a city of Campania, under pretence of defending Palæopolis, had, before it was invested, got into the town, where they kept the citizens in a state of cruel slavery, treating them as prisoners of war, and even doing violence to their wives and to their children of both sexes. In this distress having long waited in vain for relief from the Tarentines, whose presence they hoped would deliver them from the oppression of their defenders, the inhabitants at length resolved to put the place into the hands of the Romans. The Palæopolitans, as has been observed, were originally Greeks, and the stratagem they made use of had in it much of Grecian artifice. Nymphius and Charilaus, the two chief magistrates of the city, undertook, with the consent of the principal inhabitants, to act two different parts, in order to the execution of the common design. Charilaus escaped as a deserter to the Roman camp, where he applied himself to the proconsul, and imparted to him the desire of his countrymen to purchase the friendship of the Romans by surrendering their city to them. He declared, that he had nothing in view but the interest of his country and of the Roman republic, and demanded no condition to his


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R. O. M. E.  
CCCCXXVII.  
Bef. J. C.  
Three hundred  
twenty-five.

129th Con-  
sulship.

Livy, B. 8.  
c. 23. 25.



Year of  
R O M E  
ccccxxvii.  
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Three hun-  
dred twen-  
ty-five.

  
129th Con-  
sulship.

Livy, B. 8.  
c. 26.

own private advantage. Publilius received him kindly, applauded his generosity, and readily entered into the scheme proposed. He put him at the head of 3000 Romans, who at a proper time were to attack the place in that part which was defended by the Samnites. In the meantime Nymphius, who had staid in Palæpolis, inveighed most vehemently against his colleague for his desertion, and by his counterfeited anger so effectually blinded the Samnite commanders, that without any suspicion they fell into the snare he had prepared for them. He advised them, as the surest method, to force the Romans to withdraw their troops from the neighbourhood of the city, immediately to equip the fleet which lay in the port, and make a descent in the Roman territory; and he offered to undertake in person the execution of his project. This motion was highly approved, and as the ships lay dry on the shore, all diligence was instantly used to set them afloat. Nymphius contrived to have the Samnite troops chiefly employed in that laborious work, which, under pretence of better concealing the design, he ordered to be done in the night; and when by this means he had left that part of the wall, by which the Romans were to enter, but weakly guarded, he gave notice to his colleague, with whom he all along kept a private correspondence, to begin the attack. Charilaus with his 3000 Romans advanced without loss of time, and, being favoured by the inhabitants, easily made himself master of the place.

As for the Samnites (who were most of them busied without the town) finding themselves betrayed, they made the best of their way to their own country, without arms or baggage, being ever after the derision of their countrymen, who continually reproached them with the Palæopolitan equipment.

Notwithstanding that the Romans had got possession of the town by the good-will of the inhabitants, yet inasmuch as it was by means of the siege that the latter were brought to take those measures they did in favour of the republic, the proconsul was decreed a triumph for his success. Livy observes, that two particular honours were done Publilius, which had never been done before to any Roman: the being continued after the expiration of his consulship at the head of the same army he had commanded when consul, and the being decreed a triumph for exploits performed in an inferior station.

V. THE taking of Palæopolis made the Tarentines jealous of the growing power of the republic. They had a little before this lost their chief support by the death of Alexander king of Epirus, who being warned by an oracle to avoid the waters of Acheron and the city of Pandosia, had left his own country, in which were a city and river of those names, and met his fate in Italy, where there happened to be another Pandosia and another Acheron. The story, as related by Livy, is to this effect: the king of Epirus had made a descent in Italy

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Three hundred  
twenty-five.

129th Con-  
sulship.

Livy, B. 8.  
c. 27.

c. 24.

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R O M E  
CCCCXXVII.  
Bef. J. C.  
Three hun-  
dred twen-  
ty-five.

129th Con-  
sulship.

to assist the Tarentines against the Bruttians and Lucanians; and having taken some towns of importance from the enemy, he divided his army into three bodies, and encamped them on three different hills separated by deep valleys. The Italian Acheron rolled its waters in one of those valleys, and the little city of Pandosia stood on the banks of it. The violent rains, which came on a sudden, filled up the valleys, and cut off the communication between Alexander's three bodies of troops. The enemy seized this occasion to attack them separately, while they could not assist each other, and having easily defeated the two divisions of the army where the king was not, they straight encompassed the hill where he had posted himself. Alexander, by his bravery, forced a passage through the enemy, and having rallied his scattered soldiers, came to a river, where the fresh ruins of a bridge, which the flood had broken down, pointed out the right road for him to take. While they attempted to pass the stream, uncertain whether it were fordable or not, an Epirot soldier, oppressed with fear and fatigue, made this sudden exclamation, "Justly indeed art thou called Acheron!" (*i. e.* River of Sorrow.) The king hearing this, and remembering the oracle, stopped short, unresolved whether to go forward or not; but in that instant Sotimus, one of his pages, telling him that his own guards (consisting of 200 Lucanian exiles, whom he had taken into his service) had in concert with the enemy plotted



his destruction, and the king seeing them in reality advancing to assault him, he sword in hand pushed on his horse, and had almost reached the opposite shore, when one of those faithless guards at a distance launched a javelin at him, which pierced him through, and killed him.

The Lucanians and Apulians, by going over to the Romans, and declaring for them against the Samnites, had much increased the uneasiness of the Tarentines. These therefore, who were very ready at tricks and artifices, contrived a stratagem to deceive the Lucanians, and bring them off from the party they had espoused. They bribed a company of young Lucanians, of good families, though of little honour, to tear their backs with whips, and then show themselves to the people, pretending that they had been treated in that cruel manner by order of the Roman consuls, to whose camp curiosity had led them. The Lucanians were so stupid a people, that, without examining into the truth of so improbable a fact, they immediately demanded a national assembly, which being convened, it was there decreed, "that war should be declared against the Romans; that the ancient alliances should be renewed with the Samnites; and that an embassy should be sent to the latter for that purpose." The Samnites could scarce believe the deputation real; and, before they would hearken to the ambassadors, demanded hostages, and insisted on the towns of Lucania receiving Samnite garrisons. These things

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Three hundred  
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sulship.

Livy, B. 8.  
c. 27.

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCCXXVII.  
Bef. J. C.  
Three hun-  
dred twen-  
ty-five.

129th Con-  
sulship.

Livy, B. 8.  
c. 28.

Varro de  
Lingua La-  
tina, B. 6.

were readily granted, nor did the Lucanians discover the cheat till it was too late to repent.

VI. AT this time the poor debtors at Rome had the good fortune to shake off the heaviest yoke that lay upon them. By one of the laws of the Twelve Tables, creditors were empowered to seize the persons of their insolvent debtors, and keep them in irons. These wretches, till they had discharged their debts by their labour or otherwise, were in all respects slaves, except in name. They were called nexi, i. e. bound, whereas the slaves were called servi. A young plebeian, named Publilius, of extraordinary beauty, and of a good family, had voluntarily made himself a slave to one Papirius, in order to pay his father's debts. Papirius conceived a detestable passion for the young man, and, upon his refusing to comply, caused him to be whipped unmercifully. Publilius made his escape out of the house, complained publicly of the cruel usage, and told the occasion of it. The story filled the people with compassion for the young man, and with resentment and fury against his master. They gathered together tumultuously, and having, by their clamours, obliged the consuls to assemble the senate, presented Publilius before them, with his back all bloody and torn, and then on their knees demanded justice. The senate had regard to their entreaties; and though they decreed nothing against Papirius, (perhaps for want of sufficient proof) they passed a law, which was

Livy, B. 2.  
c. 28.

afterwards confirmed by the people in *comitia*, that for the future no person whatsoever should be held in fetters or other bonds unless for some crime that deserved it, and only till the criminal had suffered the punishment due by law; and that CREDITORS should have a right to attach the goods only, and not the persons of their DEBTORS.

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Three hun-  
dred twen-  
ty-five.

129th Con-  
sulship

## CHAP. XIII.

I. *The Vestini, a people on the coast of the Adriatic sea, take arms against Rome, to their own loss.* II. *L. Papi-rius Cursor is named dictator, to conduct the war against the Samnites. His general of the horse, Quintus Fabius, is guilty of a breach of discipline. The severity of the dic-tator on this occasion.* III. *Finding his soldiers ill affected to him because of his severity in command, he changes his manner on a sudden, and in a little time gains their affec-tions. After which he reduces the Samnites to sue for peace.* IV. *The senate grant the Samnites only a year's truce, which the latter break so soon as they hear that Pa-pirius has quitted the dictatorship. The Romans obtain a complete victory over them.* V. *The Samnites, repenting of their breach of the truce, endeavour to pacify the Romans.*


I. THE republic, in the following consulate of L. Furius Camillus and D. Junius Brutus, began to be embarrassed by the great numbers of enemies she had to deal with. Beside the Samnites and Lucanians, the Vestini had declared against her. These were themselves an inconsiderable people upon the coast of the Adriatic sea; but they had powerful neigh-

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Bef. J. C.  
Three hun-  
dred twen-  
ty-four.

130th Con-  
sulship.  
Livy, B. 8.  
c. 29.



Year of  
R O M E  
CCCCXXVIII.  
Bef. J. C.  
Three-hun-  
dred twen-  
ty-four.

  
130th Con-  
sulship.

bours, who in all probability would arm in their defence, if the republic should attack them. This consideration made the senate demur; but at length pride prevailed over prudence; it was not for the honour of Rome to let herself be insulted without revenging it. The two consuls therefore took their commands by lot, and it fell to Camillus to conduct the war against the Samnites, and to Brutus to act against the Vestini. Brutus's first care was to hinder the Vestini from joining the Samnites, which he did, by encamping on the frontiers between the two nations. He soon after defeated them in battle, and took from them Cutilina and Cingilia.

II. CAMILLUS, who had made it his business to keep the Samnites upon the defensive in their own country, fell sick, and was obliged to return to Rome; and, being there ordered to name a dictator, he pitched upon L. Papirius Cursor, the greatest captain the republic could then boast of, who appointed Q. Fabius Rulianus to be his general of the horse. These took possession of the command of the army in Samnium: but there having been something obscure in the auspices consulted before their departure from Rome, scruple and superstition tormented the dictator when he came to enter upon action. To remove the pain of his doubts and fears, he returned to the city to renew the auspices; but first forbid Fabius, with whom he entrusted the command of the army in his absence, to venture a battle with the enemy.

Aurel. Vict.  
de Viris Ill-  
lust. c. 31.

Fabius being fond of glory, and beloved of the army, and disdaining to have his hands so tied up, resolved to hazard an action, notwithstanding the dictator's prohibition. He attacked the Samnites, whom he found in less disorder than he had at first expected, and was once very near losing the day: but then the Roman cavalry, unbridling their horses, drove upon the enemy with such a sudden and irresistible impetuosity, that the latter were put into confusion, and entirely broken and defeated. Twenty thousand of them remained dead upon the field of battle. This victory made the young conqueror grow insolent; and, instead of lodging the spoils of the enemy in the quæstor's hands, to be sold for the advantage of the public, he caused them all to be burnt, that they might not do honour to the dictator, by being carried in his triumphal procession; neither did he send any account of his victory to the dictator, but only to the senate; an instance of great disrespect to the general under whose auspices he had fought.

These proceedings incensed Papirius, and he hastened to the camp to punish his disobedient general of the horse. Fabius having timely notice of his coming, and of his design, called together the troops, and made an harangue to them, wherein he inveighed against the dictator, "Whose resentments," he said, "threatened not only his life, but the lives of many of the other officers, and even of the private soldiers, who had helped him to

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCCXXVIII  
Bef. J. C.  
Three hun-  
dred twan-  
ty-four.

130th Con-  
sulship.

Val. Max.  
B. 3. c. 2.  
Livy, B. 8.  
c. 30.

c. 81.

Year of  
R O M E  
ccccxxviii  
Bef. J. C.  
Three hun-  
dred twen-  
ty-four.

130th Con-  
sulship.

Livy, B. 8.  
c. 32.

Val. Max.  
B. 2. c. 7.

gain the victory. That therefore it was the common interest of the army to protect him; and that to them he committed the defence of his life and fortune." The soldiers with one voice cried out to him to take courage, and they promised to defend him to the last breath. Papirius, not long after, arrived. Having instantly assembled the troops, he ordered the crier to call Quintus Fabius, general of the horse, to appear before him. When Fabius was come near the tribunal, and silence made, the dictator questioned him concerning his violation, not only of the common laws of military discipline, but of the express orders of a dictator, whom he could not but know to have a sovereign authority in the republic, and whom even the consuls themselves, magistrates who succeeded to the regal power, obeyed. Fabius had a bad cause to defend, and was confused in his answers; one while complaining that the dictator was both accuser and judge, and then exclaiming loudly, that he would sooner lose his life, than the glory of his exploits; this moment he attempted to excuse himself, and the next accused the dictator: which provoking Papirius still more, he commanded the lictors to strip the criminal, and prepare their rods and axes. But when these executioners were beginning to tear off his clothes, he cried out to the soldiers for assistance, and by some means made his escape, retiring among the triarii. These things put the army into a great commotion, and raised a clamour throughout the whole



assembly; some beseeching, others threatening. The officers who were near the dictator endeavoured by reasoning and by entreaties to mitigate his resentment against a young man of great hopes, and of a family so highly and so justly honoured in Rome. They represented to him the danger to which he might expose himself by too far exasperating the multitude, who, blind with anger, might be carried to do something extravagant and desperate. All was in vain, Papirius continued inflexible; and their remonstrances seemed more to increase his indignation, than to soften him towards Fabius. But when he would have commanded silence, the noise was so great that neither his criers nor himself could be heard, and night alone put an end to the tumult. Fabius, though summoned to appear again the next day, did not think it prudent to stand a second trial, but escaped to Rome, there to present himself before less passionate judges.

As soon as he arrived, his father (who had been thrice consul, and once dictator) thought it necessary to get the senate assembled without delay, and obtain a favourable decree for him before the return of the dictator. The senate was met, young Fabius had already worked upon the fathers, and made them think Papirius both unjust and barbarous, when on a sudden a great noise was heard at the door of the temple where they were sitting. It was Papirius himself, attended by his lictors, who were dispersing the crowd at the entrance

Year of  
R O M E  
ccccxxviii  
Bef. J. C.  
Three hundred twenty-four.

130th Consulship.

Eutrop. B.  
2. c. 8.  
Livy, B. 3.  
c. 33.

Year of  
R O M E  
ccccxxviii  
Bef. J. C.  
Three hun-  
dred twen-  
ty-four.

130th Con-  
sulship.

of the sanctuary. Upon his appearance the scene changed. He took his place, ordered his lictors to seize young Fabius, and was immediately obeyed. In vain did the oldest and most venerable senators intercede for the criminal; Papirius was inexorable: so that the father of the young man having no other remedy left, appealed to the people in *comitia*; and, though the appeal was unprecedented, the dictator did not hold it expedient to dispute the superior authority of the Roman people.

When the *comitia* were formed; both the Fabii ascended the rostra with Papirius; which he observing, sternly ordered the master of the horse to be pulled down. Young Fabius immediately descended, and his father followed him; but then the father, placing himself at the foot of the rostra, broke out into bitter invectives against Papirius for his haughtiness and barbarity; he cited some former cases<sup>1</sup> (not much to the purpose) where faulty generals had not been so severely punished; he complained that no distinction was made between a fortunate and an unfortunate disobedience; and, in short, omitted nothing that could be said in so bad a cause. He clamoured, he brangled, he complained, he called upon gods and men for help, and, throwing his arms about his son's neck, wept over him a flood of tears. The whole assembly was moved. On the side of the Fabii, says Livy, were the majesty of the

Livy, B. 8.  
c. 34.

<sup>1</sup> The case of Minucius, (see p. 275, 276, vol. ii.) and that of L. Furius, see p. 143, 144, vol. iii.)

senate, the favour of the people, the aid of the tribunes, and a remembrance of the absent army. Papirius, on his own part, spoke in a high strain, of the dignity of his office, the military laws, dictatorial edicts revered as the oracles of heaven, Manlius's rigour to his own son: he reproached the Romans with degeneracy from that heroic love of their country, which used to prevail over all paternal affection and private considerations: he urged the many ill consequences of admitting appeals from a dictator to the people, and especially in cases of disobedience in war; and concluded with admonishing the tribunes not to load themselves with the blame of being the authors of those mischiefs to the republic, by their protection of the guilty Fabius.

His discourse threw both the people and their tribunes into great perplexity: for though to receive appeals from the sentence of a dictator was to extend the exercise of the people's power, yet they were afraid of the consequence of interposing (in such a cause especially) against that high authority, which they had so often found it necessary, for the safety of the republic, to lodge with a single magistrate. Instead therefore of taking upon them to judge in the affair, they only became intercessors for the criminal, humbly beseeching the dictator in the most earnest manner to pardon his general of the horse. The Fabii themselves likewise fell prostrate at his feet, and implored his clemency. Upon this Papirius ordered silence

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dred twen-  
ty-four.

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sulship.

Livy, B. 8.  
c. 34.

to be made, and then declared, “ that he was satisfied: MILITARY DISCIPLINE has prevailed, the DICTATORIAL AUTHORITY has gained the victory. The delinquent is not acquitted, but condemned, and is pardoned at the intercession of the Roman people and of their tribunes: they have succoured him, not as innocent, not by a just exercise of power, but by their prayers for mercy on a convicted criminal. Live then, QUINCTUS FABIVS, more fortunate in this unanimous consent of your country to your preservation, than in the victory you awhile ago so insolently boasted of. Live, FABIVS, though you have dared to commit a crime which your own father, in my place, would not have forgiven. You shall be received again into my favour—upon any terms. But as for the Roman people, to whom you owe your life, the best return you can make to them, is to let this day teach you, whether in war or in peace, to obey your lawful commanders. Go, you are at liberty.” Thus ended this affair; and the Romans afterwards confessed, to the dictator’s honour, that the peril into which he brought Fabius had conduced as much to the support of military discipline, as the death of young Manlius, condemned by his own father.

c. 36.

III. BUT while Papirius staid in Rome, the Samnites took advantage of his absence to insult his army; whose commander, M. Valerius, a lieutenant-general, was so intimidated by the example of Fabius, that he durst not oppose the hostilities of the enemy. He suffered a

party of his foragers to be cut in pieces, rather than stir out of his camp to relieve them. This accident helped to exasperate the troops yet more against the dictator; who, when he came to the camp, (with L. Papirius Crassus, a relation of his own, whom he had appointed to command the horse in the room of Fabius) found all his men so ill-affected to him, and so little disposed to gain him glory, that he had no hopes of making any progress with them in the war. However, as the enemy offered him battle, and he could not in honour decline fighting, he posted himself so advantageously, and drew up his troops with so much dexterity, that it was not possible for them to be entirely defeated. When the battle was over, (in which, though they had fought but faintly, they had not been routed) Papirius acted a part which surprised every body. Not one officer or soldier, who had behaved himself negligently in the fight, was so much as reprimanded by him. He went about with his lieutenants visiting the wounded soldiers, put his head into their tents, asked them how they did, charging their officers to have particular care of each of them by name; and all this he seems to have done without the least appearance of affectation: for we find that the army, which had always held him in esteem, came, in a short time, to have a most tender affection for him.

The people at Rome being informed of this great alteration in the dispositions of the soldiers towards their commander, continued him

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dred twen-  
ty-three.

Fast. Capit.

Livy, B. 8.  
c. 37.

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Bef. J. C.  
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dred twen-  
ty-two.

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sulship.

in his employment<sup>2</sup>, and no consuls were chosen for the year 429. As for Papirius, he no longer doubted of victory, and he soon gave the enemy a total overthrow; after which he over-ran Samnium, (leaving all the booty to his soldiers) and reduced the Samnites so low, that they sued for peace, which he granted them on three preliminary conditions: that they should clothe all his troops, give them a year's pay, and get the treaty confirmed by the senate.

IV. PAPIRIUS having triumphed for his late victories, held the *comitia* by centuries, where C. Sulpicius Longus and Q. Aulius Cerretanus were chosen consuls for the next year. When the conscript fathers came to consider of the peace to be made with the Samnites, they disapproved of the terms offered by them, and therefore granted only a truce for a year, which the Samnites broke so soon as they heard that Papirius was no longer in command. At the same time the Apulians declared for them against Rome. The republic thought it neces-

<sup>2</sup> Livy confines Papirius's dictatorship to the foregoing year 428, and places the events of this year 429 in that. So that he makes Papirius's two dictatorships to have been but one. Nevertheless it appears that Papirius was continued in his office, and created dictator a second time. We have a convincing proof of it in the *Fasti Capitolini*. They say that L. Papirius triumphed over the Samnites in the year 429, on the third of the nones of March. This makes us believe that Papirius's dictatorship was prolonged to the year 430; and Livy's silence confirms us in this opinion: for he makes no mention of any consuls for the year 429, which is likewise omitted in the consular annals. C & R.



sary therefore to divide her forces between the two consuls. Aulus led an army into Apulia, and Sulpicius another into Samnium; but both Samnites and Apulians keeping themselves close in their fortified places, the Roman generals reaped little glory from the campaign.

This year the Tusculans were tried before the Roman people upon a bill preferred by the tribune M. Flavius, to punish them for advising and assisting the people of Velitræ and Privernum in the war they made upon the Romans. The Tusculans, with their wives and children, came to Rome, and in the humblest manner solicited the people to have pity on them. All the tribes, except the Pollian, rejected the bill. The Pollian would have had all the men scourged and beheaded, and their wives and children exposed to sale. Of this the Tusculans, who were incorporated into the Papirian tribe, retained so lasting a resentment, that, almost to the times of Livy, scarce any person of the Pollian tribe, who stood candidate for an office, could get the vote of the Papirian.

Quinctus Fabius (who had been general of the horse to the dictator Papirius) and L. Fulvius Corvus, the next year consuls, marched their joint forces against the Samnites, (who had raised a formidable army) and gave them an entire overthrow, but not without great difficulty. The Samnites had surprised the Romans, while encamped in a place very disadvantageous both for subsisting their army and for sustaining an

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c. 38.  
Fast. Capit.

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dred twen-  
ty-one.

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sulship.

Year of  
R O M E  
ccccxxxi.  
Bef. J. C.  
Three hun-  
dred twen-  
ty-one.

132d Con-  
sulship.

Livy, B. 8.  
c. 39.

attack; and when, for these reasons, the Romans attempted to retire in the night, the enemy watched them so narrowly, and pursued them so close, that the next day they found themselves under a necessity of hazarding a battle. It lasted from nine in the morning till two in the afternoon, without either side's giving way, or so much as changing the order in which they were first drawn up. The imprudence of the Samnite cavalry determined the fortune of the day: for, having received advice, from one of their most advanced squadrons, that the Romans had left their baggage a good way behind them without any troops to defend it, greediness of plunder induced them to wheel off in order to seize the prey; and the consuls, to whom early notice of their motion was brought, allowed them all the time that was necessary to load their horses with booty, and put themselves out of a condition to fight; and then ordered away the whole body of Roman cavalry to fall upon them. The cavalry executed the order with expedition and success: after which, fetching a compass, they came upon the rear of the Samnite infantry; an unexpected attack, which struck them with terror, and soon after threw them into confusion. The Romans pursued their advantage, and made a dreadful slaughter: those of the Samnites who kept their ground, were cut in pieces by the Roman foot; and those who fled, fell most of them by the swords of the horse, and, among the rest, the general himself.

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V. So terrible a defeat made the Samnites reflect seriously on their unjust breach of the truce with the Romans; and they imputed their late misfortune to the anger of the gods, whom they supposed to be offended at the violation of their oaths. To appease them, they resolved to sacrifice the chief author of that breach; and one Brutulus Papius, a man of distinction, but of a turbulent spirit, was universally pitched upon to be the victim. They passed a decree, that he should be delivered up to the Romans; and that the spoil and captives taken within the time of the truce, and, in short, whatever their *feciales* had demanded, should be restored to them. In pursuance of this decree, Brutulus, with all his effects, was put into the hands of some Samnite ambassadors, to be carried to Rome; but he killed himself before he got there. However, they surrendered his dead body to the Romans, who, of what was offered by way of restitution, accepted only the captives and a part of the effects, rejecting whatever could not be claimed by any private Roman as his own.

After this the consul Fulvius returned to Rome, while his colleague Fabius led an army into Apulia. That he succeeded in his expedition, appears by the Capitoline Marbles, where he is said to have triumphed over the Samnites and Apulians, Fulvius over the Samnites only. One A. Cornelius was this year chosen dictator, but it was only to preside at the games in the absence of the consuls, and

Fast. Capit.  
Aurel.  
Vict. de  
Viris Illus-  
tribus, c. 32.



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during the sickness of the prætor. However, Livy finding, that at the time of the defeat of the Samnites, the government was in the hands of a dictator, ascribes by mistake that exploit to him. The Capitoline Marbles rectify the error.

#### CHAP. XIV.

I. *The Samnites being refused a peace, prepare to carry on the war with vigour : and they appoint one Pontius, an able officer, to be their general. Pontius, by a stratagem, draws the Roman legions into a dangerous pass, (called afterwards the Caudine Forks) where they are surrounded by the Samnites, and have no possibility of forcing their way out of it. To save their lives, they submit to shameful conditions imposed by the enemy.* II. *The base expedients to which the Romans have recourse to evade the treaty.* III. *Satricum revolts from the Romans ; and the Samnites surprise Fregellæ, a Roman colony.*

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sulship.  
Livy, B. 9.  
c. 1.

I. IT had been a constant maxim with the Romans to pardon the nations which submitted, and to treat none with rigour but the proud and untractable ; but their late successes made them now deviate from this rule ; and, notwithstanding that the Samnites sued to them for a peace, and endeavoured to merit it by the methods which have been related, the senate rejected their petition, and thereby put them under a necessity of continuing the war at all hazards. And while the *centuriate comitia*, at Rome, were choosing T. Veturius and Sp. Posthumius consuls for the new year, the Samnites in their diet appointed one Pontius,

an able general, to command their troops. Pontius exhorted the assembly not to fear a war with a people who had received restitution of wrongs with haughtiness, and had refused peace when offered upon the most reasonable terms. "The gods," said he, "are now no longer our enemies; justice accompanies our arms, and we cannot fail of success." He then immediately led his troops near to Caudium (a little town in Samnium) and there encamped as covertly as possible. When the consuls were come within a league of him, he caused a report to be spread, that the Samnite army was laying siege to Luceria in Apulia; and the more effectually to deceive the Romans, he ordered ten of his soldiers in the habit of herdsmen to lead some cattle into different parts, but still in the neighbourhood of the enemy, with instructions to agree all in the same report when taken prisoners by their foragers. The stratagem succeeded. The Romans in a council of war resolved to march to the relief of Luceria; and there being two ways thither, one broad and open, but further about than the other, which was through certain straits (called since the Caudine Forks) they chose the latter. The nature of the ground was this. Between two circling ridges of mountains, so covered with trees and briars as to be absolutely unsurmountable, was a pretty large marshy meadow, through the middle of which lay the road. At the hither end, the way into it was very deep and narrow through a hollow rock;

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Eutropius,  
Florus,  
Zonaras,  
Orosius,  
&c.

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dred twenty  
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the way out, at the further end, more narrow, deep, and difficult. When the Romans, having passed the first, came to this, they found it entirely barred with huge stones and trees laid across: and then they also discerned great numbers of the enemy on the tops of the eminences. To avoid being invested, they instantly turned back, thinking to retire through the pass by which they had entered; the Samnites had already blocked it up. The consternation of the Romans was inexpressible, when they perceived themselves shut in, without a possibility of escaping. They stood silent, and fixed their eyes on one another, each to see whether he could discover any glimmering of hopes in his companion's looks. At length the soldiers seeing the consul's tent pitched, and preparations making towards fortification, set themselves to work, without waiting for orders, to raise a rampart along the water, though they well knew it to be a fruitless labour, and were all the while scoffed at by the enemy. As soon as the army was encamped, the principal officers repaired of their own accord to the consul's tent; but the case was such as allowed no room for counsel or debate. The gods themselves, says Livy, could hardly have given them assistance. Night came on: without taking any refreshment, officers and soldiers spent the hours of rest in discoursing on their unhappy situation.

On the other hand, the Samnites could not come to any determination what to do with



their enemies, who were absolutely at their mercy. After much debate, it was at length universally agreed to consult Herennius, the father of Pontius, a wise old man whom they looked upon as a kind of oracle. The messenger whom they sent to him for his advice, brought back this answer: "That he counselled them not to do the least harm to the Romans, but to open them a free passage home." This advice being rejected, the same messenger was despatched a second time; and then the old man sent word, "That he would not have them spare the life of one single Roman." The strange difference between these two answers made the Samnites imagine that there was some mystery in the matter, and they pressed Pontius to have his father brought to the camp, that he might explain himself. When the wise Herennius was come, he let them know, that in good policy there was no medium between treating the Romans in the kindest manner, and destroying them absolutely. That by the first (which he thought the best) they would gain the friendship of a powerful nation; that by the second they would greatly lessen the strength of a dangerous enemy; but that no third way could produce any advantage of either sort. However, this prudent advice was not followed. Pontius and his officers chose a middle way, such as their foolish vanity suggested: they would spare the lives of the Romans, but at the same time treat them as conquered enemies.

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Livy, B. 9.  
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Livy, B. 9.  
c. 4.

Whilst the Samnites were in these deliberations, the Romans sent a deputation to them to desire a truce upon equitable terms, and in case of refusal to invite them to a battle. Pontius with a haughty air answered, “ that the Samnites had no battles to fight ; that the victory was already gained ; and that not a man of the Roman legions should escape, till they had been disarmed, and had passed one by one under the yoke : that, beside this, he expected that the Romans should quit Samnium, and withdraw their colonies from all the cities they had usurped from the Samnites.” And he concluded with forbidding the deputies to appear any more in his presence, if the consuls did not accept the terms proposed.”

The report of this answer threw the legions into the utmost despair. The consuls were struck dumb, and durst not declare themselves for so shameful a treaty. L. Lentulus, a considerable officer in the army, and who had been at the head of the deputation to the Samnites, was the first who broke silence ; addressing himself to the consuls, he spoke to this effect : “ I have often heard my father say, that, when the Gauls besieged the capitol, he was the only man in the senate who opposed the redeeming of Rome with gold ; and the reason he gave for his opinion was, that the enemy not having shut up the capitol by intrenchments, nor raised any rampart round it, it was still possible for the Romans, though difficult, to force a passage through the besiegers. Were the case with us

the same; were there any possibility of escaping; could we make sallies, as they sometimes did, or could we force the Samnites to a battle, I should soon convince you by my counsel, that I have the same courage as my father; I should speak the same language, and endeavour yet more by my example, than my words, to animate you to the fight, though in never so disadvantageous a situation for it. For my own part, I would gladly rush into the midst of the enemy, and devote myself for the Roman people, if that could be of any avail to their preservation; for I am truly sensible, that no fortune can be so glorious as to die for the safety of our country. But our country at present is here; its chief stay and strength, the Roman legions, are in this valley. Shall they devote themselves to death for their own preservation? To what end then? To save the walls of Rome? the houses? the crowd of people that inhabit the city?—and which way can even these be preserved, if this army perish? will a weak, unarmed, despondent multitude defend them? Just as they did against the Gauls after the battle of the Allia.—But it is shameful, say you, to give up our arms like cowards. I grant it: yet the love of our country should be such as to make us ready, if need be, to suffer ignominy as well as death; to sacrifice not only our lives, but our glory to preserve it. For the sake of Rome then let us submit to the conditions imposed, be the indignity never so great; nor scruple any longer

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Liv. B. 9.  
c. 5.

to obey necessity, to which the gods themselves are subject."

This advice was followed. The consuls signified to Pontius, that they consented to lay down their arms, and pass under the yoke; upon which they obtained a conference with him. As to a treaty of peace, they declared, "that they could not conclude any that would be binding on the Roman people without their approbation, and the ministry of the *feciales*. That their power extended no further than to make promises, which they were ready to strengthen by giving hostages." The stipulation was accepted on these terms, and the consuls, lieutenant-generals, *quæstors*, and legionary tribunes, all signed the convention; six hundred Roman knights were to be given as hostages; and the Samnites were to have power to cut off their heads, in case the republic did not perform the consul's promises.

When the day came for the Roman army to pass under the yoke, or gallows, the six hundred knights marched first out of the camp, unarmed, and with only their under garment; and these were taken into safe custody. The consuls followed next, then the inferior officers, and at last the soldiers one by one. The Samnites insulted them as they passed; and if any Romans returned but a fierce look, he was immediately knocked down or killed.

The Romans could have reached Capua the same day; but partly out of distrust of that city, and partly out of shame to be seen there

c. 6.

in so wretched a condition, they threw themselves on the ground in the neighbourhood of it, resolving to pass the night in the open air ; which when the magistrates of Capua understood, moved with compassion, they sent clothes, horses, and arms, lictors also and fasces to the consuls, and food for the whole army. And when, the next day, they drew near the city, the senate and people went out to meet them with all demonstrations of kindness. Nevertheless the Romans, overwhelmed with shame, seemed unaffected with this hospitality: they kept their eyes fixed on the ground, and shunned all discourse. They were accompanied to the frontiers by several young men of the Campanian nobility ; but they still observed the same behaviour, and showed the same dejection of mind ; which, when it was reported to the senate of Capua by the young nobles at their return, made the assembly in general conclude, that the Roman courage was for ever lost, and their affairs desperate. One of them, however, a venerable old man, declared, that he judged differently of the dumb confusion of the Romans : “ This obstinate silence, their eyes fixed on the ground, their ears deaf to all consolation, are tokens of an inward rage that ferments without evaporating. If I am not wholly unacquainted with the temper of the Romans, their remembrance of the Caudine treaty will be more fatal to the Samnites than to them. The Romans will have it in their thoughts wherever they shall encounter

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Livy, B. 9.  
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dred twen-  
ty.

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sulship.

Livy, B. 9.  
c. 7.

the Samnites; but these will not every where find Caudine Straits."

In the meantime the people at Rome, without orders from the senate, and as it were by tacit consent, put on the deepest mourning. The shops all around the Forum were shut up; there was a vacation in all the courts of justice, before any proclamation for it; gold rings and robes of magnificence were laid aside; and the city was more dejected, if possible, than the army itself. Before the arrival of the troops, it was the language of the people, angry not only with the commanders, but with the guiltless soldiers, that they ought not to be received into the city: but as soon as they appeared, the public indignation changed into pity. Nevertheless, they did not enter the city till night; and then every one stole home, and hid himself in his own house: even the consuls banished themselves from society, after they had performed the indispensable duty of naming a dictator to hold the *comitia*. They pitched upon Q. Fabius Ambustus; but some defect being found in the nomination, Æmilius Papus was substituted in his room. Nor did this dictator hold the assembly for the elections; no magistrate of this unfortunate year could please the people; the government fell into an interregnum.

II. AND now all eyes were cast on two of the greatest men in the republic, Papirius Cursor\* and Publilius Philo†. These, being chosen consuls in the *comitia*, entered upon

\* A second time.

† A third time.



their office the very day of their election. Their first care was to obtain a decree of the senate, importing, that there had been no defect in point of religion in their inauguration : after which, the fathers took into consideration the treaty made with the Samnites by the late consuls. Posthumius, one of those unfortunate generals, was called upon to speak first. He addressed himself to the assembly with an air of great modesty and humility, owned the treaty to be infamous, but declared, that the Roman people were not bound by it, since it had been made without their orders ; and that the republic was obliged in justice to nothing more, than to deliver up into the hands of the Samnites those of the army who had signed it. And he advised, therefore, that the new consuls should lead a new army into the field ; but that, before they entered upon action, they should surrender to the mercy of the Samnites his colleague and him, with all the other officers who had been parties to the convention. The senators were struck with admiration at the generosity of Posthumius ; and their compassion for him did not fall short of their esteem of his heroic virtue. However, they all approved of the proposal, except two tribunes of the people, who had (probably) been raised to that office since their return from the Caudine Forks. These contended, not only “ that the motion made by Posthumius was unjust with regard to the persons concerned in the treaty, but that it was by no means sufficient to discharge the demands

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nineteen.

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Bef. J. C.  
Three hun-  
dred nine-  
teen.

134th Con-  
sulship.

Livy, B. 9.  
c. 9, 10.

which the SAMNITES had upon Rome; and that as to themselves, they were sacrosanct magistrates, inviolable, and not to be delivered up to the enemy." To the last of these pleas, Posthumius replied, "that the senate might defer the delivering up of the tribunes till their holinesses were out of office, and then (if his advice might be followed) cause them to be beaten with rods in the public Forum, by way of usury for the delay." But as to himself, and the rest of the profane officers concerned in the treaty, he pressed the immediate execution of his proposal; and he offered such plausible arguments to prove the invalidity of the Caudine convention, and the sufficiency of the satisfaction designed for the Samnites, that the senate, whether convinced or not, were universally pleased with his discourse, and acquiesced in his project. Nay, the two tribunes themselves, who had at first opposed it, consented at length to follow the fate of their companions, and to that end abdicated their office.

Posthumius's proposal was no sooner passed into a decree of the senate, but it dispelled that cloud of sorrow, with which the Romans had been covered ever since the misfortune of Caudium; it seemed to them like the breaking out of the sun upon the city after a total eclipse. Nothing was talked of but the generosity of Posthumius, whose devotement they compared to that of Decius; and the Roman youth were so animated, that there needed no orders to raise troops; a new army

was formed almost wholly of volunteers, and the Caudine legions were again enrolled. As soon as these forces came near the enemy's camp, preparations were made for surrendering up the Roman officers in due form by a *fecialis*. Cornelius Arvina was the person appointed for this purpose; who having conducted the prisoners bound into Pontius's presence, addressed himself to him in the following words: "Since these men undertook without any commission to conclude a treaty of peace with you, and committed a crime in so doing, we deliver them up to you, in order to free ourselves from any share in the punishment, which they alone have deserved." The *fecialis* had scarce uttered these words, when Posthumius, as if offended with what he had said, gave him a hard blow on the thigh with his knee, and looking sternly at him, "I am now," said he, "a Samnite, and you an ambassador of Rome: I have therefore by this blow violated the law of nations, and you are thereby authorized to make war upon us." But this little, low artifice served only to raise the indignation of the Samnite general, and make him despise the author of it. He laid before Posthumius and the *fecialis* the injustice and baseness of their proceedings. He told them, that if the Roman people would preserve their honour untainted, and maintain the rules of equity, they must either perform the conditions of the treaty, or send the Roman army again into the Caudine Forks. And as to Posthu-

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dred nine-  
teen.

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sulship.

Livy, B. 9.  
c. 12.

c. 26.

mius's behaviour to the fecialis, he thus ex-  
postulated: "Will you be able to impose on  
the gods by these thin disguises? Will they  
take Posthumius for a Samnite, and consider  
the blow he has given, as an insult offered to  
the Roman people by a Samnite? Is it thus  
that you sport with religion and the faith of  
treaties? Are such ludicrous transactions be-  
coming the gravity of a consul, and the dig-  
nity of a great nation? Lictors, untie the  
prisoners, and leave them free to go where  
they please." And thus the Romans were  
dismissed.

III. But now the Samnites repented too late  
of their not having hearkened to the wise coun-  
sels of old Herennius; they had a foreboding,  
says Livy, of the misfortunes that afterwards  
befel them; while the Romans, on the other  
hand, looked upon the liberty they had ob-  
tained of making war as equal to victory. Not  
long after, the inhabitants of Satricum joined  
with a body of Samnites, who surprised Fre-  
gellæ, a Roman colony, in the night, and, hav-  
ing by a promise of quarter engaged the greater  
part of the inhabitants to lay down their arms,  
burnt them afterwards alive. Capua likewise  
at this time prepared for a revolt; the chief  
citizens entered into a plot to shake off the  
Roman yoke. This, with some other alarms,  
induced the republic to name a dictator, the  
consuls being employed in the war. C. Mæ-  
nius was chosen to that dignity, and he ap-  
pointed M. Foslius to be his general of horse.

The new dictator's commission extended only to the making inquiry into state crimes, and punishing them. And there needed no more to put a stop to the revolt of Capua; for the terror of a judge from whom there lay no appeal became so great throughout all Campania, that the heads of the conspiracy killed themselves to avoid punishment.

After this, the dictator pretending that the powers given him by his commission were not confined to the taking cognizance of traitorous persons and practices at CAPUA only, but extended to the cognizance of all conspirators and conspiracies whatsoever and wheresoever against the Roman state; and pretending further that all intriguing and canvassing for offices was a kind of treason against the commonwealth, he cited several of the patricians to appear before him on accusations of that kind. The accused having no other resource, called upon the tribunes to interpose their negative, and put a stop to the prosecution; but not one of them would interfere in the matter. Hereupon the whole body of the nobles took the alarm. They exclaimed in all places, that the patricians, to whom, being nobly born, the way (if not obstructed by indirect practices) was naturally open and easy to all honours and dignities, were not the persons on whom this crime should be charged; but certain upstart gentlemen, such as the dictator himself and his master of the horse, who indeed ought rather to be prosecuted themselves, than sit as judges of other

Year of  
R O M E  
ccccxxxiii  
Bef. J. C.  
Three hundred nine-  
teen.

134th Con-  
sulship.

Year of  
R O M E  
ccccxxiii  
Bef. J. C.  
Three hun-  
dred nine-  
teen.

134th Con-  
sulship.

men; and they threatened that they would make the two inquisitors know this, so soon as their magistracy should be expired.

Mænius, though free from guilt, yet fearing lest his reputation should suffer by the calumny, assembled the people, and laid before them the uprightness of his intentions and the impartiality of his conduct; and then, to give them a further proof of his innocence, abdicated the dictatorship, that he might be brought to a trial. Foslius also, for the like purpose, resigned his office at the same time. The senate, by a special commission, appointed the consuls of the year (probably recalled to Rome on this occasion) to be their judges: who having heard the witnesses, and fully examined the affair, honourably acquitted the accused<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> The account which has been given of MÆNIUS's affair is taken from Livy, who adds, that PUBLILIUS also was soon after brought to a trial on the same sort of accusation, and acquitted; but then Livy refers both these trials to the year 439, when Mænius was indeed dictator, according to the Capitoline Marbles, but Publilius was not consul.

If Publilius stood his trial the same year that he was consul, we must suppose that he also, as the Jesuits Catrou and Rouillé have well observed, abdicated his office in order thereto. These learned fathers conjecture that this was the case, and that Papirius being thereby left sole consul, named to the dictatorship L. Cornelius Lentulus, who appointed Papirius to be his general of the horse, intending to be governed in all difficulties by his advice, as the ablest man in all the commonwealth to conduct the present war; and what confirms the opinion, that the war was conducted by PAPIRIUS this year in quality only of master of the horse, is, that he had no TRIUMPH for his conquests.



This kind of inquisition descended afterwards to men of less distinction, and in a short time was entirely stopped by force of those very intrigues and cabals against which it was levelled.

Year of  
R O M E  
ccccxxxiii  
Bef. J. C.  
Three hun-  
dred nine-  
teen.

What induces the Jesuits (who have been followed in the text) to place the trial of Mænius in the year 433, is not the authority only of the Capitoline Marbles (which make Mænius dictator this year) but a passage of Livy\* himself, who in the year 443 makes Sempronius the tribune speak of MÆNIUS being created dictator, to inquire into state crimes, and of his abdication in order to stand his own trial, as things which had happened within ten years: an expression which he probably would not have used, if those events had happened but four years before.

134th Con-  
sulship.

It is indeed very difficult to reconcile the Capitoline Marbles with Livy, who seems to be at a loss in this part of the history, and to have made some confusion of times and events, not distinguishing the several dictatorships of Mænius as they are marked on those marbles.

The marbles give us three dictators this year, C. Mænius, L. Cornelius, and T. Manlius. Livy mentions only the second, and in this manner; though he ascribes the exploits of the campaign, we are going to enter upon, to Papirius and Publilius, the consuls of the year, yet he owns that the thing is doubtful, and that some give those exploits to L. Cornelius created dictator, and Papirius Cursor his master of the horse.

\* Livy, B. 9. c. 34.

## CHAP. XV.

*I. The Romans give the Samnites a great overthrow, and take from them Luceria in Apulia; II. And Ferentum: and recover Satricum. The character of Papirius Cursor. III. A two years truce is granted to some cities of Samnium. The Roman arms prosper in Apulia. Campania is turned into a Roman præfecture. Two new*

tribes, are formed, which make the whole number thirty-one.

IV. All Apulia is subdued. Antium receives laws from Rome for its future government. Saticula, a Campanian city, and Sora (in the country of the Volsci) both in alliance with the Samnites, are taken by the Romans.

V. The cruelty of the Romans towards three cities of the Ausones. The Samnite war continues.

Year of  
R O M E  
ccccxxxiii  
Bef. J. C.  
Three hun-  
dred nine-  
teen.

134th Con-  
sulship.

I. IT seems highly probable from some passages of Livy, joined with the authority of the Capitoline Marbles, that the operations of the campaign this year were governed by Papirius Cursor, not in quality of consul, and colleague to Publilius, but of general of the horse to L. Cornelius Lentulus, created dictator.

The chief view of the Roman generals being to rescue the 600 knights, who had been delivered up to the Samnites as hostages, they to that end divided their forces. Cornelius put himself at the head of the same troops that had passed under the yoke, and led them against the victorious Caudine legions of the Samnites. Papirius marched towards Luceria in Apulia, where the Roman hostages were kept prisoners. Pontius, the Samnite general, was for some time in suspense, whether to march to the relief of Luceria, or stay to make head against the dictator. He feared that, if he marched, the enemy would fall upon his rear; and that if he did not march, Luceria would be lost. His resolution at length was to put all to the hazard of a battle. The dictator no sooner perceived the intention of the enemy, but he assembled his soldiers, and would have exhorted

Livy, B. 9.  
c. 12.

them, as was usual on such occasions, to behave themselves with the courage becoming Romans ; but he found his harangue to be entirely needless. The soldiers, mindful of their late disgrace, were so eager to fight, that they gave no attention to him ; with one voice they all cried out, " To battle." When they drew near the Samnites, they pressed their ensigns to march faster, and, being spirited by revenge to a degree of fury, rushed upon the enemy without observing their usual order, or waiting the command of their general. Nothing could stand before them ; the Samnites were routed, and their camp taken and plundered.

On the other hand, Papirius having entered Apulia, and being assisted by the people of Arpi, (old enemies of the Samnites, their neighbours) had laid siege to Luceria, but was so straitened by the difficulty of getting provisions, that the arrival of the victorious army at his camp proved very seasonable. The dictator dispersed his legions about the country, intercepted the convoys that were going to the besieged, and facilitated the bringing of provisions to the camp of Papirius. The Samnites, who had likewise an army encamped near Luceria, finding that the place could not hold out long, resolved to give the besiegers battle. Every thing was getting ready on both sides for a general action, when ambassadors arrived from Tarentum, to put a stop to all hostilities by their mediation ; and they threatened to declare themselves against whichever party should

Year of  
R O M E  
ccccxxxiii  
Bef. J. C.  
Three hun-  
dred nine-  
teen.

134th Con-  
sulship.

Livy, B. 9.  
c. 13.

c. 14.



Year of  
R O M E  
ccccxxxiii  
Bef. J. C.  
Three hun-  
dred nine-  
teen.

134th Con-  
sulship.

persist in carrying on the war. Papirius, pretending to listen seriously to what they said, told them, that he would consult the dictator; and accordingly he did so, but it was only on the measures to be taken in the engagement, for which he instantly prepared. While the Romans were sacrificing, as was customary before a battle, the Tarentine ambassadors came for their answer. "The chickens," cried Papirius, "feed perfectly well; so the keeper of them tells us. The gods too are much pleased with our sacrifices: under their protection therefore we are going to fight, as you perceive." He then led his troops out of the camp, ridiculing the vanity of a little insignificant people, who would needs make themselves mediators of a peace between two powerful nations, when at the same time Tarentum could hardly support itself under its own intestine divisions.

But now the Samnites absolutely declined the fight, alleging that Papirius had deceived them by false hopes of an accommodation, and declaring, that out of respect to the Tarentines they would keep themselves upon the defensive within their camp. This timorousness of the enemy encouraged the Romans to attack them in their intrenchments, which they did with so much success, and with such a spirit of vengeance, that scarce any of the Samnites would have escaped the slaughter, if the Roman generals had not restrained the fury of their troops, in regard to the six hundred knights in Luce-

ria, whom the besieged might perhaps, in revenge and despair, put to death. The town being sorely distressed by famine, the garrison sent an offer to release the six hundred hostages, on condition that the Romans would raise the siege. Papirius told the deputies who came to him with this proposal, that they should have consulted Pontius about the treatment proper to be expected by the vanquished; and he peremptorily insisted, that all the soldiers in the place, to the number of 7,000, should be unarmed, and with only one garment each, pass under the yoke, and Pontius, who had thrown himself into the town, at the head of them. These conditions were accepted; and thus the Romans retaliated the ignominy they had undergone at the Caudine Forks, and recovered their hostages.

II. AFTER the return of Papirius with the army to Rome, Cornelius laid down his dictatorship, and another dictator, T. Manlius, was chosen (as it seems probable) only to hold the centuriate *comitia*, where Papirius Cursor\* was again raised to the consulate, and Q. Aulus Cerretanus † given him for a colleague. The latter defeated the Ferentani in Apulia, and took their city, Ferentum. The former reduced Satricum, a city of Latium, which, as we have before observed, had gone over to the Samnites, though its inhabitants had obtained the privileges of Roman citizens.

The Satricans, as soon as the Roman army appeared before the walls, sent out a deputation to sue for peace. Papirius refused to grant

Year of  
R O M E  
ccccxxxiii  
Bef. J. C.  
Three hundred  
nineteen.

134th Consulship.

Livy, B. 9.  
c. 15.

Oros. B. 3.  
c. 15, and  
others.

Year of  
R O M E  
ccccxxxiv  
Bef. J. C.  
Three hundred  
eighteen.

135th Consulship.

\* A third  
time.

† A second  
time.

Fast. Capit.  
Livy, B. 9.  
c. 16.

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCCXXXIV  
Bef. J. C.  
Three hun-  
dred eigh-  
teen.

135th Con-  
sulship

it, unless they would kill all the Samnite-garrison, or deliver them alive into his hands. And, when they expostulated with him, asking, how it was possible for them, who were but weak and unarmed, to master a garrison-armed and strong? he bid them advise with those by whose counsel they had received that garrison into the town. The Satrican senate, upon the report of this answer from the consul, were divided in opinion what measures to take, one part consisting of those who had counselled the revolt to the Samnites, the other of the adherents to Rome. It happened that the garrison, for want of provisions to hold out a siege, had resolved to march away the night following. That faction therefore which had called the Samnites in, thought it sufficient to give the consul notice at what hour they would begin to move, through what gate they were to pass, and what road they were to take; but the other party, not content with this, opened another gate to the Romans at the same hour; so that the Samnite garrison were surprised, and cut to pieces, and the town seized the same instant. Papirius, after an inquisition by torture concerning the chief authors of the revolt, caused the most guilty to be scourged and beheaded; disarmed all the Satricans, and placed a strong body of troops in the place.

For this conquest Papirius, at his return to Rome, had the honour of a triumph, which had not been granted him for his more important exploits the year before, (probably) because he



had acted under the auspices of a superior magistrate.

This Papirius is the man whom Livy represents as a hero, who would have been a match for Alexander the Great, had that conqueror turned his arms westward, and come into Italy. He was no less remarkable for his vigour of mind, military skill and courage, than for his strength of body, and wonderful agility in running, which got him the surname of Cursor: and whether it were owing to his robust constitution, or continual exercise, nobody eat or drank more than he; but he was also indefatigable in war, sharing the severest toils of it without hurting his health. Never had the Roman horse or foot a general that kept them to harder service. It is reported of him, that his cavalry having taken the freedom to desire a little relaxation from their fatigues, after an expedition which had been successful, he answered, "Yes, by all means; when you alight from your horses, I excuse you from the trouble of stroking their backs." Papirius, so severe in point of discipline, was naturally facetious, but not very gentle even in his jests. Walking one day before the door of his tent, while he was dictator, he ordered a certain prætor of Præneste, who in a battle had behaved himself shamefully, to be called, and as soon as he appeared, bid the Lictor prepare his axe: when he saw the poor Prænestine ready to die with fear at the sound of those words, he presently added, "despatch, lictor,

Year of  
R O M E  
ccccxxiv.  
Bef. J. C.  
Three hundred  
eighteen.

135th Con-  
sulship.

Livy, B. 9.  
c. 16.

Aurelius  
Victor de  
Viris Illus-  
tribus, c. 31.

Year of  
R. O. M. E.  
CCCCXXXV.  
Bef. J. C.  
Three hun-  
dred-seven-  
teen.

136th Con-  
sulship.

Livy, B. 9,  
c. 20.

cut away this stump of a tree that spoils my walk:" after which he only fined the prætor, and dismissed him. Such was the character of the renowned Papirius.

III. In the following consulship of L. Plautius Venno and M. Foslius Flaccinator, many of the Samnite cities sent deputies to the Roman senate to ask peace; but these being referred to the people in *comitia*, (where the Caudine legions doubtless made a part of the assembly) the Samnites could obtain, by urgent entreaties, no more than a two years truce.

And now the terror, spread throughout Apulia by the Roman army, which Plautius conducted thither, was so great, that the two cities of Teanum and Canusium surrendered to avoid being pillaged. Capua likewise being so divided by intestine seditions, as to be no longer in a condition to govern herself, desired the Romans to give her a governor and new laws; and it was at this time that the Romans first turned Campania into a præfecture<sup>1</sup>, and sent thither a præfect.

<sup>1</sup> All the cities which the republic subdued were not upon the same foot. Some were called colonies, some municipia, and some præfectures.

The colonies chose their governors out of their own inhabitants; and, though subject to the Roman people, were a kind of petty republics, modelled after the plan of Rome.

The municipia kept their old laws, and the customs they had among them before they became Roman.

The præfectures were in a worse condition than either the colonies or municipia. The præfects, who were sent to them annually from Rome, had a power of changing



It was perhaps to make the Campanians some sort of amends for their liberty, which they had voluntarily given up, or rather to keep them to their duty, that a new Roman tribe was formed in their country. It was called the Falernian tribe, doubtless from the hill Falernus, this tribe possessing the delightful plain which surrounded that hill. Another tribe was also established on the borders of the Ufens, and was therefore called Tribus Ufentina. So that the Romans had now thirty-one tribes, all which had a right of suffrage in the *comitia* by tribes.

By a census taken this year, the number of men in Rome fit to bear arms appeared to be two hundred and fifty thousand.

IV. THIS happy war was followed by another as prosperous, under the administration of Q. Æmilius Barbula and C. Junius Brutus, who subdued and quieted Apulia. Antium followed the example of Capua, in asking a governor and laws from Rome. But this city was not made a Roman præfecture, nor did she receive laws from a single magistrate sent thither for that purpose. The care of making

their laws, and wholly swallowed up the authority of the other magistrates. Some of these præfects were chosen by the Roman people; and others received their commissions from the prætor of Rome, and were, properly speaking, no more than his substitutes in the provinces. The discord among the Campanians gave the first occasion to the institution of præfects. And afterwards the Romans established this form of government in several parts of Italy. C. & R.

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCLXXXV.  
Bef. J. C.  
Three hundred  
seventeen.

136th Con-  
sulship.

Fast. Capit.  
Livy, B. 9.  
c. 19.

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCCXXXVI.  
Bef. J. C.  
Three hundred  
sixteen.

137th Con-  
sulship.

Livy, B. 9.  
c. 20.



Year of  
R O M E  
ccccxxvi.  
Bef. J. C.  
Three hun-  
dred six-  
teen.

137th Con-  
sulship.

the laws by which the magistrates were to govern was left to the patrons of the colony. It was then customary not only for private families, but likewise for cities, and afterwards for provinces to have their patrons, who were often of the principal nobility of Rome. The patrons of the municipia were generally of the families of those consuls who had conquered them; and the protectors of the colonies were the children of those who had received the commission to plant them.

Year of  
R O M E  
ccccxxvii  
Bef. J. C.  
Three hun-  
dred fifteen.

138th Con-  
sulship.

The succeeding consuls, Sp. Nautius and M. Popilius, were scarce entered upon their office, when the republic, either from a distrust of their abilities, or for some other reason unknown, obliged them to nominate a dictator, to carry on the war. They named L. Æmilius, who immediately put himself at the head of the legions. He invested Saticula, a city of Campania, in alliance with the Samnites, and defeated the Samnite army that came to relieve it; but his dictatorship expired before he could take the place. The Samnites not hoping to defend it, laid siege to Plistia.

Year of  
R O M E  
ccccxxviii  
Bef. J. C.  
Three hun-  
dred four-  
teen.

139th Con-  
sulship.

\* A fourth  
time.  
† A fourth  
time.

The Romans had now got such a habit of suffering none but dictators to command their armies, that though the famous Papirius Cursor\* and Publilius Philo† were chosen consuls for the following year, we find Q. Fabius Maximus, who had been formerly general of the horse to Papirius, and ever since his implacable enemy, raised at this time to the dictatorship, and commissioned to carry on the

siege of Saticula. While he was making his attack, the Samnites came from before Plistia, and their cavalry insulted the Roman camp, in which he had left his cavalry under the command of Aulus Cerretanus, his general of the horse. Aulus, without consulting the dictator, sallied out with the Roman knights, and, having discovered the general of the Samnites, rushed on him, and laid him dead with the first push of his lance; but having penetrated too far into the enemy's squadrons, he could not retire; and the Samnites gave their general's brother the glory of revenging his death: he dismounted Aulus, and then stabbed him as he lay upon the ground. Hereupon the Roman knights alighted from their horses, to recover their general's dead body; the Samnite cavalry did the same, and a battle was fought between them on foot, in which the Romans prevailed. The Samnites returned to the siege of Plistia\* (a city in alliance with the Romans) and took it by assault.

In the mean time Saticula capitulated, and then the dictator marched to besiege Sora, on the banks of the Liris, in the country of the Volsci. The Sorans had gone over to the Samnites, having first massacred a Roman colony which had been settled in their city. To defend this place the Samnites followed the dictator with all expedition. When Æmilius understood that they were not far behind him, he faced about, marched to meet them, and came to an engagement with them near the narrow

Year of  
R O M E.  
ccccxxxviii.  
Ref. J. C.  
Three hundred four-  
teen.

139th Con-  
sulship.

Livy, B. 9.  
c. 22.

\* The situa-  
tion of this  
place is un-  
known.  
Livy, B. 9.  
c. 23.



Year of  
R O M E  
ccccxxviii  
Bef. J. C.  
Three hun-  
dred four-  
teen.

139th Con-  
sulship.

pass of Lautulæ. The success of the battle was doubtful, night put an end to it, and both armies continued their march towards Sora.

And now the dictator chose a new general of the horse, L. Fabius, a kinsman of his own; to succeed Aulus. He ordered him to go to Rome, fetch thence some fresh levies, conceal his march from the enemy, and, when he had posted his men in some secure place near Sora, to wait the signal for moving. This was no sooner executed, than the dictator pretended fear, and kept close within his intrenchments, in hopes thereby to draw the Samnite army near his camp; and it did not fail to have the desired effect. Then, on a sudden giving the signal for battle, he sallied out of his intrenchments, without letting the soldiers know the succours he had in readiness. They imagined it was some great distress, which made their general so suddenly change his resolution; and he confirmed them in this opinion, by telling them that "their case was such, that they must either conquer or perish; that he had ordered fire to be set to their tents and baggage, but that they might soon make up the loss, by the plunder of the rebellious cities." However, his private orders were to set fire only to those tents which were next the ramparts, and this was to be the signal for the general of the horse to move to his assistance, and fall upon the enemy in the rear. Every thing was executed with wonderful harmony, and by this stratagem the Samnites were entirely defeated, and their



camp plundered; and the Roman soldiers had the further joy of finding at their return to their own camp, that their tents and baggage were not burnt.

After this the dictator laid siege to Sora, and the siege was continued by his successors in the command of the army, M. Pœtelius Libo and C. Sulpicius Longus\*, the new consuls. They pitched their camp almost close to the walls of the town. While they were deliberating and in doubt in what part to make their attacks, a deserter from the besieged suggested to them a stratagem for getting possession of the place. What he proposed appeared to the consuls practicable; and, in order to its execution, they, by the advice of the deserter, removed their camp to the distance of six miles from the place: to the end that this might throw the garrison into carelessness and security. Next night the deserter, having posted some cohorts near the town, in a woody spot, where they could lie concealed, stole with ten chosen Roman soldiers into the citadel. Then placing his men in a narrow steep path, that led from the citadel to the town, and where they might easily defend themselves against a great multitude, he hastily ran down into the town, crying out, "To arms, to arms, the enemy are in possession of the fortress." A fright seized the inhabitants; and in their haste to escape they broke down the gates. The Roman cohorts, roused by the noise, rushed in at one of them, putting all they found in the streets to

Year of  
R O M E  
ĊĊĊĊXXXIX.  
Bef. J. C.  
Three hundred thir-  
teen.

140th Con-  
sulship.

Livy, B. 9.  
c. 24.  
\* A third  
time.

Year of  
R. O M E  
ccccxxxix  
Bef. J. C.  
Three hun-  
dred thir-  
teen.

140th Con-  
sulship.

Liv. B. 9.  
c. 25.

c. 26.

the sword. In the morning by day-break the consul, with his army, entered the town, already in the possession of the Roman cohorts.

Two hundred and twenty-five of the prisoners, who had been the chief authors of the revolt, and of the massacre of the Roman colony there settled, he sent to Rome, where they were first beaten with rods, and then beheaded.

V. THE reduction of Sora was followed by the surprising of three cities of the Ausones (Ausona, Minturnæ, and Vescia) on the same day and at the same hour. The Romans seized these places, and barbarously massacred all the inhabitants, merely upon an accusation (without proof) brought to the consuls by twelve traitors of the nation, of their having formed a design to revolt. But Livy tells us, that this barbarity was owing to the absence of the generals when the towns were seized.

Luceria, which had rebelled, being taken by assault, not only the Samnite garrison, but the citizens were put to the sword, and a colony of two thousand five hundred men sent thither from Rome, to secure it for the future against all attempts.

Notwithstanding all these examples of severity, the restless Campanians prepared once more to shake off the Roman yoke; so that the republic thought fit to name a dictator<sup>2</sup>, G. Mænius, to go with an army into their country, and keep them in awe. In the mean-

<sup>2</sup> See the note at the end of chapter xiv.



time the consul Sulpicius appeared with his army near Caudium, where the Samnites had drawn together a great body of troops, and were waiting for the insurrection of the Campanians, who they hoped would join them. The two armies came to an engagement, in which the Samnites lost thirty thousand men killed or taken<sup>3</sup>. And the conqueror marched his army to Bovianum, one of the principal cities, if not the capital of Samnium, and passed the winter before it.

L. Papirius Cursor (a fifth time) and C. Junius Brutus (a second time) were now raised to the consulate: but soon after, for what reason is unknown, the fathers ordered a dictator to be created. The nomination fell upon C. Poetelius Libo, and he was appointed to command the forces. He repaired to the camp near Bovianum, and in a short time quitted that post to retake Fregellæ from the enemy. They evacuated the place without standing a siege, and then the dictator appeared before Nola, a city of Campania, which he quickly reduced, together with Atina and Calatia, both in the same province. This year the Romans planted a colony at Suessa, a city of the Aurunci; and another in Pontia, an island which the Volsci had inhabited, and which lay within sight of their coast. And the senate passed a decree for planting a colony at Interamna and Casinum.

Year of  
R O M E  
ccccxxxix  
Bef. J. C.  
Three hundred  
thirteen.

140th Consulship.

Fast. Capit.  
Livy, B. 9.  
c. 27.

Year of  
R O M E  
ccccxli.  
Bef. J. C.  
Three hundred  
twelve.

141st Consulship.

Fast. Capit.  
Livy, B. 9.  
c. 28.

<sup>3</sup> Livy gives the consul Poetelius a share in this victory.



Year of  
R O M E  
CCCCXLI.  
Bef. J. C.  
Three hun-  
dred eleven.

142d Con-  
sulship.

Livy, B. 9.  
c. 29.

Whilst M. Valerius Maximus, one of the consuls for the new year, was carrying on the war against the Samnites, and P. Decius Mus, the other, was lying sick at Rome, the senate received advice, that the Hetrurians threatened the republic with an invasion, upon which they ordered Decius to name a dictator. C. Sulpicius Longus being promoted to that dignity, raised a powerful army, and made all the preparations which the apprehension of a war with so populous a nation and so near a neighbour required. Nevertheless he was not in haste to enter upon an action; he kept himself upon the defensive, and waited till the Hetrurians should begin the hostilities; and this moderation had the effect he desired. The Hetrurians upon further reflections suspended their design, and continued quiet within their own bounds.

4 According to Livy, C. Junius Bubulcus was named dictator; but according to the Fast. Cap. Junius was general of the horse to Sulpicius.

## CHAP. XVI.

- I. *Appius Claudius, one of the censors of Rome, admits the SONS OF FREEDMEN into the senate. The people reform this abuse the next year, and make some new regulations.*
- II. *Rome has war with the Hetrurians and Samnites.*
- III. *Appius obstinately refuses to quit his office, though his eighteen months (the legal time for its duration) are expired. He is prosecuted before the people.*

I. THE domestic tranquillity of the republic was at this time a little disturbed by Appius Claudius, one of the censors. He was an able lawyer, and an oracle among the Romans in all knotty points of law, but a lover of innovations, taking great delight in overturning the most ancient institutions, and in setting up for a legislator. Hitherto none but patricians, or the most considerable of the commons, had been admitted into the senate; but Appius introduced there the libertini, *i. e.* the sons of those who had been slaves, and had obtained their liberty. Having thus debased the senate, he attacked the priesthood, which had always been confined to the nobility. The oldest priesthood in Rome was that belonging to the altar, called *Ara Maxima*, erected by Evander to Hercules; it had been given at that very time to an old man of the Aborigines, named Potitius, and had continued ever since in his family. The censor prevailed with the Potitii to resign this priesthood to the slaves belonging to the public, and employed in the public works.

But if Appius thus brought a blemish on the

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCCXLI.  
Bef. J. C.  
Three hundred eleven.

142d Consulship.  
Pomponius  
de Origine  
Juris.

D. Hal. B.  
1. c. 40.  
Val. Max.  
B. 1. c. 1.  
Livy, B. 9.  
c. 29.

Livy, (B. 9. c. 29.) speaks of a tradition, that the whole name of the Potitii, consisting of twelve families, in which were thirty persons at or past the age of puberty, perished within the year; a warning from the angry gods not to attempt innovations in religion: and that Appius also was struck blind some years after, as a punishment for his profaneness.

Year of  
R. O. M. E.  
CCCCXLI.  
Bef. J. C.  
Three hun-  
dred eleven.

142d Con-  
sulship.  
Frontinus  
de Aquæ-  
ductis, B. 1.

Year of  
R. O. M. E.  
CCCCXLII  
Bef. J. C.  
Three hun-  
dred ten.

143d Con-  
sulship.

\* A third  
time.

† A second  
time.  
Livy, B. 9.  
c. 50.

‡ Duumviri  
Navales.

senate and priesthood, he made his country amends by the useful works he undertook with success; particularly an aqueduct seven miles long, whereby he supplied Rome with plenty of wholesome water, which it before wanted. He likewise made that famous road from Rome to Capua, which was called the Appian Way, and which Julius Cæsar afterwards continued from Capua to Brundisium on the Adriatic. It lasted entire above eight hundred years.

The succeeding consuls, C. Junius Brutus\* and Q. Æmilius Barbula†, were no sooner entered on their office, but they complained to the people in *comitia* of Appius's new list of senators, and cancelled it, so that the senate resumed its former lustre. The people at the same time not only recovered an old privilege, but extended it farther than before: by a law in the year 391, the *comitia* had assumed the privilege of choosing six out of twenty-four legionary tribunes in the consular armies, consisting of four legions. This privilege had been for some time past usurped from them by the consuls and dictators; but now it was decreed, that the people should instead of six, name sixteen of the twenty-four tribunes. At this time likewise the people, at the motion of Decius Mus, one of their tribunes, appointed two officers‡ to take care of the naval affairs of the republic.

II. WHILEST the Romans were employed in these regulations, their consuls prepared to



lead two armies into the field<sup>2</sup>. It fell to Brutus's lot to carry on the war in Samnium, and to Æmilius to march against the Hetrurians, who had now begun hostilities. Æmilius found the enemy ready to lay siege to Sutrium, a town in alliance with the Romans, about thirty miles from Rome, and a sort of key to the Roman state on that side. The Hetrurians, trusting to their numbers, ventured a battle, and were defeated by the consul, who obtained a triumph at Rome. Nor was Junius Brutus less successful against the Samnites. He first took Cluvia by assault, and then Bovianum, the spoils of which he gave to his soldiers. And

\* Livy tells us (B. 9. c. 30.) that while the Romans were burthened with the care of two dangerous wars, an adventure happened too trifling to be mentioned in history, were it not for the relation it had to religion. All the public pipers, or players upon the flute, ran away together on a sudden to Tybur in great dudgeon, because the censors had forbid them to feast and carouse in the temple of Jupiter, as they had used to do; so that there was nobody to play during the pomp of the sacrifices. The senate, with a pious concern, despatched some deputies to Tybur, who were to endeavour to prevail with the people of that place, that the pipers might be sent back to Rome. The Tyburtes not being able to win upon these fellows, by persuasion, to return, contrived, on occasion of some festival, to make them all dead-drunk, and then sent them home in carts. When they awaked in the morning, they found themselves in the middle of the Forum. The people, who were got together about them, having prevailed upon them to stay, the privilege of feasting in the temple was restored to them, and a new one was granted them of strolling about the city three days every year in masquerade, piping and singing. This custom still prevailed in Livy's time.

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCCXLII  
Bef. J. C.  
Three hundred ten.  
143d Consulship.  
Livy, B. 9. c. 32.

c. 31.

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCCXLII  
Bef. J. C.  
Three hun-  
dred ten.

143d Con-  
sulship.

Livy, B. 9.  
c. 32.  
c. 31.  
Zonaras,  
B. 6.

now the Samnites, no longer daring to contend with a consular army in the open field, had recourse to artifice, and endeavoured to draw their enemies into new Caudine Forks. Between Cumæ and Puteoli in Campania was the forest of Avernus, so called from the lake Avernus in the middle of it, from whose sulphurous waters exhaled such a nauseous steam, that the birds which attempted to fly over it were believed to be suffocated by the exhalations. The poets make it one of the vents of hell. Into this forest, where the Samnites had posted great numbers of men, they allured the Roman troops by the hopes of booty. But the Romans, upon the first discovery of the ambush, drew up in order with such expedition, and behaved themselves with so much resolution and bravery, that they defeated the enemy, and left twenty thousand of them dead upon the spot.

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCCXLIII.  
Bef. J. C.  
Three hun-  
dred nine.

144th Con-  
sulship.

\* A second  
time.  
Livy, B. 9.  
c. 33.

Pomponius  
de Origine  
Juris.

III. IN the following consulship of Q. Fabius \* and C. Marcius Rutilus, the tranquillity and concord at home, to which so much prosperity abroad was owing, was greatly disturbed by the ambition and obstinacy of the censor Appius. In the year 219, a law had been passed, enacting, that no censor should continue in his office longer than eighteen months: but Appius refused to comply with this regulation, and to resign the censorship (though his colleague did) at the expiration of his term, depending on the favour of the people, who were pleased with his aqueduct and new road. Nevertheless Sempronius Sophus, one of the tribunes, made no scruple to impeach him for



this infraction of the ÆMILIAN law. Appius, upon a summons, appearing before the assembly of the people, the tribune asked him, "how he would have behaved himself, had he been one of the censors when that law was passed?" To this Appius answered, that his case was not the same with theirs, and that the law in question bound only the censors of that year. Sempronius, finding that nobody applauded this answer, immediately ordered him to prison. But then Appius appealed to the whole body of the tribunes, of whom three took him under their protection, while the other seven were against him; and as no person could be condemned at their tribunal, unless they were all unanimous, he by this means escaped, and alone held the censorship more than three years longer, contrary to the inclination of the public.

Year of  
R O M E  
ccccxliii.  
Bef. J. C.  
Three hundred nine.

144th Consulship.

Livy, B. 9.  
c. 34.

Author de  
Viris Illustribus,  
c. 34.

## CHAP. XVII.

I. *The consul Fabius defeats the Hetrurians. He penetrates into the Ciminian Forest, deemed impervious; after which he gives the enemy a second overthrow.* II. *The Roman arms have not equal success against the Samnites. The senate orders Fabius to name Papirius Cursor (the man he most hates) to be dictator to carry on that war.* III. *He continues, (with the title of proconsul) successfully to conduct the war against the Hetrurians.* IV. *The dictator Papirius is no less successful against the Samnites. He returns to Rome, and retires for the rest of his life from public business.* V. *The Samnites, assisted by the Marsi and Peligni, are defeated. The Hetrurians sue for an alliance with Rome. The Romans subdue all Umbria.* VI. *They send an army against the Salentines. The*



*HERNICI rebel and are subdued ; and the SAMNITES are frequently defeated. VII. The Samnites request and obtain a renewal of their old alliance with Rome. The ÆQUI, who had lately rebelled, are totally subdued.*

Year of  
R O M E  
ccccxliii.  
Bef. J. C.  
Three hun-  
dred nine

144th Con-  
sulship.  
Livy, B. 9.  
c. 35. & 36.

I. THIS intestine disturbance did not stop the progress of the Roman arms. Fabius marched against the Heturians, and defeated them near Sutrium. The run-aways took refuge in the Ciminian Forest, a forest, says Livy, more impassable and dreadful than those of Germany, and through which not even a single merchant had ever yet made his way. Fabius was almost the only man in the army who had the boldness to think of entering into it: they were afraid of finding Caudine Forks in Heturia. The general had with him at this time a near relation, named Cæso Fabius, who had been educated at Cære in Heturia, and spoke the language of the country perfectly well. Cæso undertook to examine the forest and the places about it. He was accompanied in this enterprise by only one servant, who having been brought up with him, was also well acquainted with the Tuscan language. Before they set out, they took care to inform themselves of the names of the several governors, and of the nature and situation of the places through which they were to pass, that in conversation they might not be discovered through their ignorance of any thing that was notorious to all the natives. They were clad in the habit of shepherds, bearing each a cleaving bill and two javelins after the manner of the peasants. But neither their

dress, their arms, nor their familiar use of the language, was so good a security to them against a discovery, as the general notion that no stranger would dare to enter that forest. In this disguise they are said to have travelled as far as to Camerinum<sup>1</sup> in Umbria, where they discovered themselves to be Romans, treated with the senate of the city in the name of the consul, and obtained a promise from them to furnish the Roman army with a reinforcement of men, and with thirty days' provision, in case it should come into those parts.

Upon the report made by Cæso at his return, Fabius, when it grew dark, first sent away his baggage, and soon after his infantry, to enter the forest. He himself staid in the camp with his cavalry, and early the next morning began to skirmish with the advanced guard of the Heturians that were posted without the wood. When by this means he had long enough amused the enemy, he retired into his camp, from whence he went out at another gate, and overtook his main army before night. The next morning by daybreak he reached the top of the hill Ciminus, which was on the further side of the forest, and gave name to it: from hence he surveyed awhile the fertile plains of Hetruria, and then sent out a detachment of soldiers, who not only brought off a great booty, but defeated a tumultuous army that had got together to rescue it out of their hands.

<sup>1</sup> From Sutrium, whence Cæso had set out to Camerinum in Umbria, it was a two days' journey.

Year of  
R O M E  
ccccxliii.  
Bef. J. C.  
Three hun-  
dred nine.

144th Con-  
sulship.

Year of  
R O M E  
ccccxliii.  
Bef. J. C.  
Three hun-  
dred nine.

144th Con-  
sulship.

After this the Romans returned to their camp near Sutrium, where they found two tribunes of the people, with five deputies from the senate, despatched expressly to forbid Fabius to enter the Ciminian Forest. These messengers were extremely pleased, that they had come too late to hinder an expedition which had succeeded so well. They returned to Rome with the joyful tidings, that a way was opened into Hetruria.

The detachment which Fabius had sent out to plunder, had alarmed all the country near the foot of the hill Ciminus, and even the people of Umbria on the confines of Hetruria, so that prodigious numbers of each nation took the field, and came to the camp before Sutrium. And now the Hetrurians not only brought their camp forward, but came out and drew up their forces in order of battle in the plain, leaving a space for the enemy to do the like. Finding that the Romans declined the fight, they advanced almost to their very trenches; and the soldiers cried out with one voice to their officers, that the remainder of their allowance of provision for that day might be brought to them, for they would stay there under arms, and attack the Roman camp, either in the night or early the next morning. Fabius, to deceive the enemy, still pretended fear, and kept close within his intrenchments; but he bid his men refresh themselves, and be ready for action upon the first signal. To raise their courage, he made a short harangue to them, extolling to a

Livy, B. 9.  
c. 37.



high degree the exploits of the Roman arms in Samnium, and assuring them, that the Hetrurians were not soldiers comparable to the Samnites for strength or courage; to this he added some dark words, by which he made them believe he had a secret correspondence in the enemy's camp, and was sure of the victory. About the fourth watch of the night he drew up his army in order of battle, within the intrenchment of the camp, caused the rampart to be levelled, and the ditch to be filled, and then marched out, and surprised the enemy while half asleep, and lying scattered over the plain. Of the Hetrurians were sixty thousand men slain or taken prisoners. Those who could escape fled into the wood. Their camp was seized and plundered. Some say, that this action happened in the country beyond the hill Ciminus near Perusia. Be that as it will, three of the most considerable lucumonies, after this overthrow, sent deputies to Rome to sue for peace; they obtained a truce for thirty years.

II. BUT the Roman arms under the conduct of the consul Marcius had not the like success against the Samnites, though he gained at first some advantages over them. The Roman fleet, commanded by P. Cornelius, met with misfortunes. This was the first fleet the Romans had ever put to sea. The admiral made a descent at Pompeii, in Campania, and his troops meeting with no opposition at first, were, by the eager desire of booty, carried further into the country than was consistent with prudence,

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCCXLIII.  
Bef. J. C.  
Three hun-  
dred nine.  
144th Con-  
sulship.

Livy, B. 9.  
c. 38.

Year of  
R O M E  
ccccxliii.  
Bef. J. C.  
Three hun-  
dred nine.

144th Con-  
sulship.  
Livy, B. 9.  
c. 38.

so that the inhabitants had time to get together, and they had the good fortune to intercept them in their return. They forced the Romans to relinquish their spoil; slew some of them, and chased those who escaped the sword to their ships.

This news, with a false report that Fabius had met with Caudine Forks in the Ciminian Forest, revived the courage of the Samnites, and they gave Marcius battle. Much blood was spilt in the action on both sides, and it was not known which had the advantage. Nevertheless, as fame gave it against the Romans, (because some of the knights, and of the tribunes of the soldiers, and one of the consul's lieutenants had been killed, and the consul himself wounded) the senate judged it necessary to create a dictator; and nobody doubted but Papirius would be the man. How to get him nominated was the question: for whether Marcius were alive or not, no one at Rome could tell; and the Samnites had guards upon all the roads that led to his camp: and, as for Fabius, the other consul, he had a private and personal quarrel with Papirius. In this difficulty, the fathers determined to send to Fabius some eminent members of their body, men of consular dignity, who to the public authority should add the weight of their own, to engage him to suppress his resentments for the sake of his country. When the deputies, being arrived at his camp, had notified to him the senate's decree, and had thereto added some discourse

in the style of exhortation and entreaty to comply, he stood silent for a while, with his eyes fixed on the ground, and then withdrew without making any answer. At midnight (according to custom) he declared Papirius dictator. Nevertheless, he plainly showed the violence he had done to himself: for when the deputies returned him thanks for mastering his resentment, he dismissed them without any reply; they could not draw one word from him.

We have a remarkable instance at this time of the excessive superstition of the Romans. Papirius, after his nomination to the dictatorship, and after he had appointed C. Junius Bubulcus to be his master of the horse, had recourse<sup>2</sup> (as seems to have been the custom in these days at least) to an assembly of the people by *curiæ* to obtain his commission. It having fallen by lot to the *curia* called *Fauca* to vote first, the assembly would not proceed in the matter, because to the same *curia* had fallen the like prerogative in those unfortunate years, when ROME was taken by the Gauls, and the Roman legions were surprised in the Caudine Forks. The business was put off to the next day, and then Papirius obtained his commission without any ominous circumstance.

He marched away with an army which had

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCCXLIII.  
Bef. J. C.  
Three hundred nine.  
144th Consulship.

Livy, B. 9.  
c. 39.

<sup>2</sup> Ei [Papirio] legem curiatam de imperio ferenti, triste omen diem diffidit, quod Fauca curia fuit principium, duabus insignis cladibus, captæ urbis et Caudinæ pacis: quod utroque anno ejusdem curiæ fuerat principium. Livy, B. 9. c. 38.



Year of  
R O M E  
CCCCXLIII.  
Bef. J. C.  
Three hun-  
dred nine.

144th Con-  
sulship.

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCCXLIV.  
Bef. J. C.  
Three hun-  
dred eight.

Fast. Capit.

been suddenly raised upon the alarm, formerly mentioned, of Fabius's danger in passing the Ciminian Forest, and arrived at Longula on the frontiers of the Volsci, where Marcius delivered up to him the troops under his command. Papirius offered the Samnites battle, but they declined it; and for some days after both parties continued quiet in their camps.

III. In the meantime Fabius, who in quality of proconsul had been continued at the head of the forces in Hetruria, not only put to flight without difficulty an army of Umbrians, but obtained a notable victory over the Hetrurians, who had assembled on the banks of a little lake called Vadimonius (near Viterbo) a more numerous and more courageous army than they had ever had before. All the soldiers of it were men who had chosen one another to the service<sup>3</sup>, and (as some think) made a vow to conquer or die. This is supposed to be the meaning of their *lex sacra*, by which they were bound: whoever violated this oath might by any man be slain with impunity. Be that as it will, the extraordinary engagement, by which they had bound themselves, had such an effect upon them, that during the action the Romans could not believe that they were contending with the same people they had so often vanquished. The first line of the Roman army was cut to pieces, and the second repulsed; so that the proconsul was obliged to bring his triarii to the

<sup>3</sup> *Lege sacrata coacto exercitu, quum vir virum legisset.*  
Livy, B. 9. c. 39.

charge; nor was even this sufficient; it became necessary for the cavalry to dismount, and go to the assistance of the foot. But when the Roman knights, who were quite fresh and in full strength, passing over heaps of slain, had placed themselves in the front of the battle, they made so furious an attack on the enemy, and were so well seconded by the legionary soldiers (though much fatigued) that the Heturians were soon broken, and their whole army put to flight. They lost the flower of their troops in this action.

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCCXLIV.  
Bef. J. C.  
Three hun-  
dred eight.

144th Con-  
sulship.

IV. Nor was Papirius less successful against the Samnites, who, to give their soldiers more pride and spirit, had furnished them with finer arms and finer habits than usual. They divided their troops into two bodies, one of which they clothed in stuff of various colours, and provided with gilt bucklers; the other had silvered bucklers, and were clothed in white habits; and they had all crests to their helmets, to make them look taller. That this novelty might have no ill effect upon the Roman soldiers, their officers put them in mind, that the true dress of a soldier was a sword and courage; that gold and silver were of no use in battles, and made but an ugly figure when distained with blood, but would be a very good booty to enrich the conquerors.

Livy, B. 9.  
c. 40.

Papirius commanded the right wing of the Romans, which faced the many-coloured troops of the enemy; and his general of the horse, Junius Brutus, commanded the left, which faced

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCCXLIV.  
Bef. J. C.  
Three hun-  
dred eight.

144th Con-  
sulship.

their white battalions : Brutus cried out, as he advanced towards the enemy, “ I devote these white men to Pluto : ” his attack presently threw the Samnites into disorder, and they began to give ground ; which Papirius observing, called out to the Romans of the right wing, “ What ! you have the DICTATOR at your head, and shall victory begin in the left ? ” While Papirius thus animated the infantry of the right to make a vigorous charge, his two lieutenants (both eminent men, who had been consuls) M. Valerius (on the right) and P. Decius (on the left) quitted the foot, and putting themselves at the head of the cavalry, each on his own side, made a sudden and furious attack on the enemy’s flanks. The Samnites finding themselves almost surrounded, a terror seized them, they instantly broke their ranks and fled to their camp ; but their loss in the battle had been so great, that they durst not think of defending it. Before night it was taken and burnt.

Fast. Capit.

The dictator, after the victory, returned to Rome, and had a triumph, of which the fine arms taken from the Samnites were the chief ornaments. They were afterwards delivered to the goldsmiths’ company, to beautify the Roman Forum with them ; and hence arose the custom of the ædiles adorning the Forum on those days when the images of the gods were carried in procession through the streets of Rome in chariots.

The triumph of the proconsul Fabius fol-



lowed that of the dictator, and though less splendid, was accompanied with more applause, because he had had no sharer in his glory; whereas the other had been much indebted for his success, not only to his general of the horse, but to his two lieutenants, Valerius and Decius.

V. PAPIRIUS was now grown old. He appeared no more in any public station, but for the future left all the glory of heroical exploits to his rival Q. Fabius, who was now (the third time) with P. Decius Mus (the second time) raised to the consulate. Samnium fell by lot to the former, and Hetruria to the latter. Fabius took Nuceria, [the last town in Campania, on the other side of Mount Vesuvius,] from the Samnites, and defeated them afterwards in a battle, but a battle so inconsiderable, that it would not deserve notice in history, had it not presented the republic with new enemies who had not before appeared. The Marsi and Peligni, two petty nations in the neighbourhood of Samnium, northward, had joined the Samnites, though with little benefit to their allies.

As for Decius, he made such a happy progress in his province, that all Hetruria desired an alliance with Rome: but the republic having (doubtless) formed the design of conquering this country, granted the Heturians only a truce for one year. Soon after the Umbrians assembled all their forces, and, being joined by great numbers of Heturians, they confidently boasted, that, leaving Decius behind them in Hetruria, they would march directly

Year of  
R O M E  
ccccxliv.  
Bef. J. C.  
Three hundred eight.

144th Consulship.

Year of  
R O M E  
ccccxlv.  
Bef. J. C.  
Three hundred seven.

145th Consulship.

Livy, B. 9.  
c. 41.

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCCXLV.  
Bef. J. C.  
Three hun-  
dred seven.

145th Con-  
sulship.

to Rome. This put both the consuls in motion. Decius made long marches from He-  
truria, and encamped his army in the Pupinian  
field, near the river Anio, about eight miles  
distant from Rome. But the enterprising Fa-  
bius no sooner received orders from the senate  
(alarmed by the preparations of the Umbrians)  
than he quitted Samnium, crossed Sabinia, en-  
tered Umbria, and encamped in the very heart  
of the country near Mevania, on the banks of  
the Clitumnus. The Umbrians were terrified  
at his unexpected appearance among them;  
and though they ventured to give battle, they  
behaved themselves like women in the action:  
the Romans hardly made use of their swords;  
they beat down the enemy with their bucklers  
alone, so that little blood was spilt; but the  
whole army were made prisoners, and the whole  
nation soon after submitted. After this Fa-  
bius returned to his camp in Samnium.

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCCXLVI.  
Bef. J. C.  
Three hun-  
dred six.

146th Con-  
sulship.  
Livy, B. 9.  
c. 42.

VI. THE time being now come for a new  
election of consuls, Appius Claudius, who had  
held the censorship five years contrary to law,  
stood candidate for the consulate, and ob-  
tained it. L. Volumnius Flamma was ap-  
pointed his colleague. Appius not being qua-  
lified for the command of armies, the senate  
obliged him to stay in Rome; and notwith-  
standing his opposition to it, continued Fabius  
in quality of proconsul, and without any asso-  
ciate, in the command of the troops in Samnium,  
where he obtained a considerable victory over  
the enemy near Alifæ, on the banks of the Vol-

turnus. In the meantime Volumnius made war against the Salentines, in the extreme part of Italy, with good success, and for the first time spread the terror of the Roman name in those parts.

In the election of magistrates for the following year, the Romans chose Appius to be prætor, a post much better suited to his talents; and, at the same time, raised Q. Marcius Tremulus and P. Cornelius Arvina to the consulate. The former was ordered to march against a body of Hernici, who had taken arms on account of the severe treatment which some of their countrymen (made prisoners in the last battle of the Romans with the Samnites) had suffered at Rome. The rebels lost three camps in a few days, and were forced to surrender at discretion. This war being ended, Marcius hastened to join his colleague, who had suffered himself to be invested in narrow passes by the Samnites. The enemy, to prevent the uniting of the two armies, gave Marcius battle, while his troops were fatigued and in some disorder. The place where they attacked him being not far from the camp of Cornelius, the latter could hear the shouts of the combatants, and see the clouds of dust that they raised; judging therefore that his colleague was engaged in fight with the enemy, he sallied out of his entrenchments, fell upon the Samnites in flank, broke through them, and made his way to their camp, which he found empty, and set fire to it. The sight of the fire totally discouraged them, so that they im-

Year of  
R O M E  
ccccxli.  
Bef. J. C.  
Three hundred six.

146th Consulship.

Year of  
R O M E  
ccccxlvii.  
Bef. J. C.  
Three hundred five.

147th Consulship.

Fast. Capit.  
Livy, B. 9.  
c. 43.



Year of  
R O M E  
CCCCXLVII.  
Bef. J. C.  
Three hun-  
dred five.

147th Con-  
sulship.

mediately dispersed themselves and fled, leaving thirty thousand men dead on the spot. But this action was no sooner over, than the Romans found themselves obliged to enter upon a new engagement with a body of fresh troops coming to reinforce the Samnite army. The success of this battle being the same with that of the preceding one, the Samnites were reduced to sue for peace. The consuls referred their deputies to the senate and people of Rome.

Livy, B. 9.  
c. 44.

Whilst Marcius and Cornelius were yet in the field, the time came for electing new magistrates; so that a dictator was named to preside in the *comitia* by centuries, who chose Posthumius Megellus and Tib. Minucius consuls. Before they took possession of their office, the senate determined the fate of the Hernici. Those of their cities that had continued faithful, were allowed to choose whether to live according to their ancient laws, or to have the right of Roman citizenship, and they preferred the former. The rest were declared Roman citizens, and obliged to be governed by Roman laws, whether they liked it or not, yet without having the right of suffrage.

c. 43.

At this time deputies arrived from Carthage, with a compliment and presents to the republic; and some historians say, that a third treaty was now made with the Carthaginians.

The new consuls were both ordered into Samnium, each at the head of two legions. Posthumius directed his march towards the city

of Tifernum, and Minucius encamped in the neighbourhood of Bovianum. The first came to a battle with the Samnites, the success of which was equal on both sides; but he pretended to be worsted, retired the next night to the mountains, and there fortified himself in an advantageous place. The Samnites followed and encamped within two miles of him. Posthumus hereupon finished his intrenchments with all expedition, and leaving a sufficient number of troops to guard them, marched out at midnight with the rest, and joined his colleague, who lay in sight of another body of Samnites that waited for an opportunity to engage. Minucius, by the advice of Posthumus, advanced into the plain with only his two legions, and offered the enemy battle. The victory was long disputed; but at length Posthumus appearing with his fresh troops, and falling suddenly upon the Samnites, whose strength was exhausted, the latter suffered a terrible slaughter. They lost one-and-twenty ensigns. This action over, the two consuls led their joint forces to Posthumus's camp, and thence fell upon that body of Samnites which was posted near it. This proved a bloodier battle than the former; Minucius was killed in it, and Statius Gellius, the Samnite general, taken prisoner. Victory declared for the Romans, who took twenty-six ensigns from the enemy.

The people at Rome, on the news of Minucius's death, immediately appointed Fulvius

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCCXLVIII  
Bef. J. C.  
Three hundred four.

148th Consulship.

Livy, B. 9.  
c. 44.

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCCXLIX.  
Bef. J. C.  
Three hun-  
dred three.

149th Con-  
sulship.

Curvus to succeed him, and to finish the campaign, which he did by reducing Bovianum and several other cities to surrender, for which he had a triumph at his return home.

VII. IN the beginning of the administration of the succeeding consuls, C. Sempronius Sophus and P. Sulpicius Saverrio, the Samnite nation sent deputies to Rome to desire a renewal of the ancient confederacy with the republic: but the Romans, before they would grant this request, despatched Sulpicius with an army into Samnium, to examine the sincerity of the Samnites, and discover their real sentiments. They received the consul every where with great marks of respect and friendship; and upon his report of the seeming alteration in their dispositions, a new alliance was made with them on the old foot.

Fast. Capit.  
Livy, B. 9.  
c. 45.

And now the republic prepared to punish her old enemies the Æqui, who, notwithstanding the treaty between them and Rome, had many times privately sent succours to the Samnites, and had of late openly espoused their cause, following the example of the Hernici. They had likewise returned this haughty answer to the Roman feciales, who had been sent to them to demand satisfaction: "That they supposed it was only a trial, whether through the fear of a war they would suffer themselves to be made Roman citizens; which, how desirable a thing it was the Hernici had taught them; seeing those of that nation, who had been left free to choose, had preferred their own laws to



Roman citizenship; and those who had been compelled to be Roman citizens looked upon it as a punishment. War was therefore declared against the Æqui, and both the consuls were ordered to enter their country. The long subjection and inaction of this people had enervated their courage, and untaught them military discipline. They assembled an army, but there was no order, no subordination among the soldiers, nor could they come to any agreement what measures to take. At length they all unanimously left their camp at midnight, and every one made the best of his way home. The consuls, who the next morning drew up their troops with an intention to offer battle, were much surprised at the inaction of the enemy, and the silence that reigned in their camp. No advanced guards appeared, no centinels upon the ramparts. At first they suspected an ambush, and proceeded with caution; but when they discovered the truth, resolved to lay siege to the cities whither they had retreated. In fifty days the consuls took forty-one towns, most of which they razed or burnt, which entirely reduced the Æqui; and this rapid destruction spread such a terror among the neighbouring nations, that the Marsi, Peligni, Frentani, and Marrucini, all sent to solicit an alliance with the republic. Their request was granted.

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCCXLIX.  
Bef. J. C.  
Three hundred three.

149th Consulship.

## CHAP. XVIII.

I. *The renowned Q. FABIUS being CENSOR this year, acquires the surname of MAXIMUS, for his reformation of an abuse introduced by APPIUS. II. Colonies are sent to the conquered cities. The art of painting is introduced at Rome by C. FABIUS, surnamed PICTOR. Cleonymus, son of Cleomenes, King of Sparta, brings a fleet upon the coast of Italy, and makes two descents there. III. An insurrection of the Marsi is quelled. After a victory over the Hetrurians, a truce is granted them for two years.*

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCCXLIX.  
Bef. J. C.  
Three hundred three.

149th Consulship.

\* In the year 441.

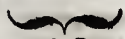
Val. Max.  
B. 2. c. 2.

Aul. Gel.  
B. 6. c. 9.  
Livy, B. 9.  
c. 46.

I. THIS success of the Roman arms abroad was followed by reformations at home. The famous Q. Fabius Rullianus being this year (with P. Decius Mus) in the censorship, employed his power to rectify an abuse introduced by Appius Claudius into the state. Appius, as we have already\* seen, to make himself master in the senate, had brought the sons of freedmen into it; but this novelty had not lasted above one year; his list of senators was cancelled, and the old one took place. Not succeeding therefore in that enterprise, he, in order to govern the elections in the *comitia*, dispersed the freed-men and the very lees of the people, men wholly devoted to him, into all the Roman tribes, and this occasioned endless broils in the republic. It was owing to the same cause, that the curule ædileship fell this year into the hands of two very mean persons, the one a native of Præneste, the other Cn. Flavius, the grandson of a freedman, and whose

first profession had been that of a scribe<sup>1</sup>. Having by some means learned the rules by which the pontifices settled the term-days, or the days for hearing causes, and such other matters as were within their peculiar province, he composed a calendar, transcribed it, and fixed it up in the Forum, for the use of the people<sup>2</sup>; who being thereby freed from their dependence on the pontifices in this respect, rewarded him with several honourable employments, to which they raised him successively, and at length with the curule ædileship. The nobles were so deeply affected with the indignity offered them by this promotion of Flavius, that many of them laid aside their ornaments, and particularly their gold rings, as in a time of mourning.

Fabius, to re-establish peace in Rome, and to hinder the great dignities from being bestowed on worthless men, reincorporated into the four city-tribes those mean fellows whom Appius had taken thence, and dispersed among the country tribes; so that for the future they could influence no more than four tribes, and in these they were not the strongest: a reformation so agreeable to the republic, that on this account alone the Ro-

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCCI.  
Bef. J. C.  
Three hun-  
dred two.  
  
150th Con-  
sulship.  
Pomponius  
de Origine  
Juris, Cicero  
pro Mu-  
ræna, 11.

Vel. Pat.  
B. 1.  
Livy, B. 10.  
c. 1.

<sup>1</sup> Pliny (B. 33. c. 1. sect. vi.) says, that Flavius had been scribe to Appius Claudius Cæcus, and, at his instigation, both made himself master of the secret (by artful inquiries) and published it.

<sup>2</sup> Flavius published likewise what Livy calls, *Civile jus repositum in penetralibus pontificum*. See Taylor's *Elements of Civil Law*, p. 77—81, where this matter is satisfactorily explained.



Year of  
R O M E  
CCCCL.  
Bef. J. C.  
Three hun-  
dred two.

150th Con-  
sulship.

mans gave Fabius the surname of Maximus, which he had not acquired by all his military exploits. It was perpetuated in his branch of the Fabian family.

In this censorship likewise an ordinance was made, that the Roman knights should every year on the ides of July appear on horseback dressed in purple, and crowned with olive, and march in procession from the temple of Mars to the capitol, [in honour of Castor and Pollux, who fought for the Romans at the lake Regillus.]

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCCLI.  
Bef. J. C.  
Three hun-  
dred one.

151st Con-  
sulship.

II. THE republic being now in peace with her neighbours, the year of the consuls S. Cornelius Lentulus and L. Genucius Aventinensis was almost wholly spent in sending colonies to the conquered cities. To Sora 4000, to Alba (in the country of the Æqui) 6000 men were sent. The same year to the Arpinates and Trebulani were granted the privileges of Roman citizens; but from the Frusinates was taken a third part of their land, because they had solicited the Hernici to make war on the Romans. The public tranquillity suffered a short interruption by a gang of robbers in Umbria, who ravaged the country far and near. Their retreat was a great cave with two entrances; and the Romans having found them both, lighted great fires at them, so that some of the wretches (whose whole number amounted to two thousand) were stifled with the smoke, and the rest threw themselves into the flames.

This expedition was followed by an incon-

siderable war. In the beginning of the consulship of M. Livius Denter and M. Æmilius Paulus, the Æqui took umbrage at the colony of six thousand men which the republic had lately sent to Alba, and they laid siege to that place. But Junius Brutus, whom the people named dictator upon this occasion, marched against them, and by a speedy victory put an end to the war in eight days' time. At his return home he dedicated to the Goddess of Health a temple, which he had vowed when he was consul, and of which he had laid the foundation when he was censor. And this is the first time that history mentions the use of the art of painting in Rome. C. Fabius (afterwards consul) painted all the walls of the new temple in fresco, and thence got the surname of Pictor.

At this time Cleonymus, the son of Cleomenes king of Sparta, came with a great fleet on the coast of Italy, with design to make a settlement there, and he took Thurix [anciently called Sybaris] a city of Lucania. Being driven thence by the Romans, he made a second descent, in the place where Venice now stands. But this expedition proving as unfortunate as the former, he returned to his own country, having lost four-fifths of his fleet.

III. THE following year the republic had no consuls, but was governed by two dictators, one after another, each of whom fulfilled his six months. The first was Fabius Maximus. The revolt of the Marsi induced the Romans

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCCLI.  
Bef. J. C.  
Three hundred one.

151st Consulship.

Pliny, B.  
35. c. 4.  
Val. Max.  
B. 8. c. 15.  
Livy, B. 10.  
c. 2.

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCCLII.  
Bef. J. C.  
Three hundred.

Fast. Capit



Year of  
R O M E  
CCCCLII.  
Bef. J. C.  
Three hun-  
dred.

151st Con-  
sulship.

Livy, B. 10.  
c. 3.

to put this eminent warrior at the head of their troops. He marched an army against them; and by one single victory quieted that insurrection. Valerius Corvus, who succeeded Fabius, was named to the dictatorship, to conduct a war against the Hetrurians, in which the republic was engaged by taking part in the civil broils of that people. But the Roman legions, having entered Hetruria, were no sooner advanced within a small distance of the enemy, than a religious scruple seized the dictator. He called to mind that there had been some defect in the ceremony of his inauguration, upon which he straight returned to Rome, to renew the *auspicia*. In his absence Sempronius Sophus, his general of the horse, imprudently made an incursion into the country, fell into an ambush, and lost a great number of men, and some colours. The news of this defeat, which was much magnified, caused an extraordinary terror at Rome, and the dictator hastened away with new levies to the camp. At his arrival he found things in a much better condition than had been reported. Sempronius had changed his post for a more safe and advantageous one; the manipuli, who had lost their colours, were impatiently waiting in great shame and disgrace without the camp (where they continued day and night without covering) for an opportunity to recover their honour, and the whole army desired nothing so much as a battle, that they might have their revenge. Valerius, seeing this good disposition of his



troops, led them into the fields of Russellæ, one of the twelve chief cities of Hetruria. The Hetrurians, flushed with their success, followed him, and endeavoured by a stratagem to surprise Fulvius, one of the dictator's lieutenant-generals, who, with a detachment, had possessed himself of a fort at some distance from the Roman camp. Some Hetrurian officers, in the dress of shepherds, came with their flocks near the walls of the fort. This was a bait to draw the Romans out; a body of troops lay ready in ambush to fall upon them. Fulvius discovering their artifice by their speech, which was more elegant than that of shepherds, bid some of his men call out to the pretended shepherds, and tell them, "that they would find it as hard to deceive the Romans as to conquer them." When the Hetrurians perceived that their stratagem would not take effect, they presently after appeared and besieged Fulvius in form. The dictator had notice of his distress, and hastened to his relief, and this brought on a general action. Valerius, to surprise the enemy, instead of posting his cavalry in the wings of his army, as was usual, drew them up behind his infantry, leaving spaces in the lines for the horse to advance upon a signal. And in reality, when the Romans had given the first shout for the combat, it was not their infantry but their cavalry that began the charge. Passing through the intervals before mentioned, they drove full speed upon the enemy; and this unexpected attack so terrified and disconcerted

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCCLII.  
Bef. J. C.  
Three hun-  
dred.

151st Con-  
sulship.

Livy, B. 10.  
c. 5.

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCCLII.  
Bef. J. C.  
Three hun-  
dred.

151st Con-  
sulship.

the Hetrurians, unprepared for it, that the battle was neither long nor doubtful. They quickly gave ground, dispersed themselves and fled; and the victory of the Romans was complete. The Hetrurians, humbled by this fresh blow, once again sued for peace, but could obtain no more than a truce for two years.

### CHAP. XIX.

*I. In the year of Rome 453, a law is passed, to qualify PLEBEIANS for the pontificate and augurate. II. The lex Valeria is confirmed anew. III. Q. Fabius Maximus declines the consulship, and at his own request obtains the curule ædileship.*

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCCLIII.  
Bef. J. C.  
Two hun-  
dred ninety-  
nine.

152d Con-  
sulship.

\* A fifth  
time.  
Fast. Capit.

I. AT the next election of magistrates, Valerius Corvus, though absent, was again promoted to the consulship\*; and the *comitia* appointed Q. Apuleius Pansa to be his colleague. During their administration, the Hetrurians and Samnites continued quiet, and the republic enjoyed an interval of tranquillity abroad. But as it had ever been the fate of Rome to have commotions at home, when she had no foreign enemies, so now two tribunes of the commons, brothers, of the name of Ogulnius, set on foot a new contest with the patricians, concerning honours and dignities. The only important offices which the plebeians did not share with the nobility at this time, were the pontificate and the augurate. Numa had appointed only four pontifices, and that number had never

Livy, B. 10.  
c. 6.



been increased. The augurs, though but three in number at their first institution by Romulus, had been augmented to six. However, the augural college consisted now but of four, probably by the death of two. The Ogulnii presented a petition to have four additional pontifices chosen out of the plebeians, and to have five plebeian augurs added to the four in being. The patricians were highly offended with this proposal; but as they had experienced the fruitlessness of their endeavours to exclude the plebeians from the consulate, and the other great dignities, they made no other opposition to this new encroachment on their prerogatives, than by declaiming in all places against the innovation, as an affront offered to the gods themselves: "May heaven grant that so wicked a profanation of our sacred mysteries draw no calamity on the republic!" The matter was first debated before the assembly of the *curiæ*, where Appius Claudius, so famous for his attempts to humble the nobility, became now their most zealous advocate. But as his harangue contained nothing more than a repetition of the old arguments that had been so often employed against the admission of plebeians to the consulate, history has not transmitted it to us. On the other hand, P. Decius Mus, who had been twice consul, and once dictator, spoke in behalf of the plebeians. He put the assembly in mind of his father Decius, who devoted himself to death for the Roman legions, and thereby made them victorious: "If

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCLIII.  
Bef. J. C.  
Two hundred ninety-nine.

152d Consulship.

Livy, B. 10.  
c. 7 and 8.



Year of  
R O M E  
Bef. J. C.  
CCCCLIII.  
Two hun-  
dred ninety-  
nine.

152d Con-  
sulship.

Decius was as pure and as agreeable a victim to the gods, as his patrician colleague Manlius would have been, had he offered himself; what should hinder, but that the same Decius might have been chosen to officiate in our religious ceremonies and sacrifices? And after all, whence is it that the patricians derive this peculiar privilege of being alone worthy to minister in sacred things? Did they descend from heaven with the quality of patricians? or did Romulus give that title to their ancestors, only because they could tell who were their fathers and grandfathers, that is, because they were men of free condition? If this be all, I am able to name a consul for my father: and my son may boast, that both his father and grandfather have been honoured with the highest dignities in the republic. But to what purpose should I reason any longer? The patricians have nothing solid to offer, they only seek to amuse us with words and noise, and they know very well that we shall carry our point. My opinion therefore is, that the people by their suffrages do immediately pass the petition of the Ogulni into a law."

Livy, B. 10.  
c. 9.

This debate was in the assembly of the curiæ, but in order to decide the affair, it had been before agreed to summon the tribes; and there both points were carried in favour of the people, and Decius was chosen one of the new pontifices.

II. VALERIUS took the opportunity of the present tranquillity to revive an old law\*, made

\* In the  
year 244.

by Valerius Poplicola, and afterwards renewed by another of his ancestors\*, enacting, "that in capital causes the accused should have a right of appealing to the tribunal of the people." The patricians, by their interest and power, had hindered the effect of this law, and rendered it obsolete; but it was now once more restored, and expressed in stronger terms than before; with no other sanction however, but that the transgressors of it should be deemed guilty of a dishonest action; a penalty which should have been of little influence in a more corrupt age, but sufficient at this time to restrain the Romans, who piqued themselves upon their virtue, and had no hope of rising to great employments, unless they had preserved their reputation pure and untainted.

III. In the following *comitia* for electing new consuls, Q. Fabius finding that the people were inclined to raise him again to that dignity, though he had not entered his name among the candidates; and considering that he should gain but little glory in a time of tranquillity, desired the assembly to reserve that mark of their esteem for him till a more tempestuous season, and declared, that a civil employment at present would be more agreeable to him. Accordingly they placed him (with Papirius Cursor, the son of the great Papirius) in the curule ædileship; nor did his superior merit appear less conspicuous in this station than in military command: for when, not long after, there happened to be a great scarcity of corn

Year of  
R. O. M. E.  
CCCCLIII.  
Bef. J. C.  
Two hundred  
ninety-nine.

152d Consulship.

Livy, B. 10.  
c. 9.

\* In the  
year 304.

eds al \*  
1847



Year of  
R O M E  
CCCCLIII.  
Bef. J. C.  
Two hun-  
dred ninety-  
nine.

152d Con-  
sulship.

Livy, B. 10.  
c. 9.

at Rome, he took such effectual care to guard the people against famine, by bringing corn from abroad, and by making a proper and wise distribution of it, that the poorer sort confessed they owed their lives to him.

## CHAP. XX.

I. *The Hetrurians break the truce with Rome. Picenum obtains an alliance with the republic. Valerius Corvus being declared consul, (the sixth time) the very name of this renowned warrior strikes such a terror into the Hetrurians, that they desist from the war.* II. *A report being spread, that both the Hetrurians and the Samnites were making mighty preparations to attack the republic, the Romans oblige the great FABIVS to accept the office of consul contrary to his inclination; and at his request, give him P. Decius Mus to be his colleague. The Hetrurians ask peace; so that the consuls march their two armies into Samnium.*

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCCLIV.  
Bef. J. C.  
Two hun-  
dred ninety-  
eight.

153d Con-  
sulship.

Livy, B. 10.  
c. 18.

I. THE consuls chosen for the new year were M. Fulvius Petinus and T. Manlius Torquatus. Fulvius went into Umbria to carry on the siege of Nequinum, (which Apuleius, one of the former consuls, had begun) and, by the treachery of some of the inhabitants, he made himself master of the place. The Romans sent a colony thither, to keep the rest of the Umbrians in awe.

In this consulate the Hetrurians broke their truce with Rome. But when they were preparing to enter the Roman territory, an irruption of the Gauls into their country suspended the design; however they did not drop it.



On the contrary, that they might execute it with the better success, they endeavoured by large sums to engage the Gauls, not only to forbear pillaging Hetruria, but to join with them against Rome. The Gauls seemed to listen to the proposal, took the money, and withdrew their troops. But when the time came for marching against the Romans, they excused themselves, unless the Hetrurians would assign them a part of their territory to settle in; and this was absolutely refused.

During these negotiations between the Hetrurians and Gauls, Picenum, on the borders of the Adriatic, sent deputies to Rome to ask an alliance with the republic; a request which the Romans easily granted in the present necessity of their affairs, and then they despatched away an army to punish the Hetrurians for their breach of faith. The command of it had fallen by lot to Manlius, but this general losing his life by a fall from his horse, the centuries met to choose him a successor, and (which had never happened since the birth of the republic) all the suffrages were given in favour of one and the same man, Valerius Corvus, now the sixth time created consul. His first consulship was in the year 405, according to the capitoline marbles<sup>1</sup>. Though now in a very advanced age, he made the campaign with all the

<sup>1</sup> According to Plutarch, Cicero, Val. Maximus, and others, there were forty-six years between Val. Corvus's first consulate and his last: according to the Fast. Capit.

Year of  
R. O. M. E.  
CCCCLIV.  
Bef. J. C.  
Two hundred ninety-eight.

153d Consulship.

Livy, B. 10, c. 11.

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCCIV.  
Bef. J. C.  
Two hun-  
dred ninety-  
eight.

153d Con-  
sulship.  
Cic. in Brut.  
c. 14.

Plin. B. 7.  
c. 48.  
Val. Max.  
B. 8. c. 15.  
Cicero, in  
Catone Ma-  
jore.  
Plut. in  
Mario.  
Livy, B. 10.  
c. 12, 13.

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCCV.  
Bef. J. C.  
Two hun-  
dred ninety-  
seven.

154th Con-  
sulship.

vigour of a man in the bloom of life. His very appearance at the head of the Roman army so terrified the Hetrurians, that they durst not continue in the field, but shut themselves up in their fortified places; nor could the burning of their villages, and the laying waste their country, provoke them to hazard a battle. This was the last of Valerius's military expeditions. In what year he ended his days is unknown, but it is certain that he lived to above a hundred. He was promoted one-and-twenty times to offices, that gave him a right to sit in the curule chair, (which can be said of no Roman but himself) and, when not in any public station, he made agriculture his chief employment and amusement. He was not only a worthy patriot and good pattern of that affection which men owe their country, but an excellent model of the paternal care which the head of a great family ought to have of his children and relations. Great in peace and great in war, Valerius Corvus shone eminent even among those heroes who appeared in the most glorious, because the most virtuous age of Rome.

II. TOWARDS the close of the year<sup>2</sup> the republic (by what accident is unknown) fell into an interregnum. When the *comitia* were held for a new election of magistrates, Appius Claudius took it into his head to oppose the admitting of any plebeian into the consulship: but all his

<sup>2</sup> Two new tribes, Aniensis and Terentina, were this year added to the thirty-one in being.



rhetoric proved ineffectual, and Cn. Fulvius Centumalus, a plebeian, was made colleague to L. Cornelius Scipio. During their administration the Heturians took arms again, and the Samnites broke their alliance with Rome. Scipio marched against the former, and gave them battle, the success of which was doubtful. However, the Heturians, after the action, were seized with an unaccountable terror, deserted their camp in the night, and returned to their respective lucumonies; and the consuls pillaged and laid waste the whole country. This is Livy's account. But the *Fasti Capitolini* make it more probable, that this expedition of the Romans into Heturia was under the conduct of Fulvius, who afterwards marched against the Samnites, and gained an unquestionable victory over them near Bovianum.

Before the expiration of the present consulship, a report prevailed of mighty preparations that the Samnites and Heturians were making to attack the republic once more. Hereupon, the first care of the Romans was to choose able generals for the next campaign; and all eyes immediately turned upon Fabius. But he (from what motive is hard to guess) declined the honour, and excused himself to the people on pretence of his age, and the decay of his strength and vigour. And to show that he was in earnest, he ordered the law to be read, which forbad any man to bear the office of consul twice within ten years<sup>3</sup>; a law made in the

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCCLV.  
Bef. J. C.  
Two hundred ninety-seven.  
154th Consulship.

Livy, B. 10.  
c. 13.

<sup>3</sup> According to Livy and the *Fasti Capitolini*: there had been ten consulates, since Fabius was in that station; so



Year of  
R O M E  
CCCCLVI.  
Bef. J. C.  
Two hun-  
dred ninety-  
six.

155th Con-  
sulship.

year 411, but which had not been strictly observed. Nevertheless, the people being bent upon having him for one of their consuls, made such a clamour when the statute was going to be read, as quite drowned the voice of the person appointed to read it; nay, the tribunes themselves threatened Fabius, that if he did not desist from opposing his election, they would get the people to dispense with the law by a formal decree. When Fabius found that there was a necessity of complying, he resisted no longer, but then he desired that they would at least oblige him so far as to give him a colleague to his own mind, and proposed to them Decius Mus, who had been joined with him in his last consulship, and with whom, he told them, he had lived in perfect concord and harmony. The *comitia* granted his request, and those centuries who had not yet voted, gave their voices unanimously for Decius. The rest of the year was spent in restraining the avarice of those, who contrary to law, possessed more than five hundred acres of land.

While the new consuls Fabius\* and Decius† were considering together in a friendly manner, which of them would be able to conduct the war in this or that province, with most advantage, and what number of forces it would be necessary to employ in each, deputies arrived at Rome from Sutrium, Nepete, and Fa-

\* A fourth time.

† A third time.

Livy, B. 10. c. 14.

that if his objection was good, we must conclude, that the consular years were not always complete years, and are therefore a very uncertain measure of time. C. & R.

lerii, who all agreed in their report, that the Heturians in their last diet had resolved to desire a peace. Upon this both the consuls marched into Samnium, but entered it different ways. Fabius took the shortest cut, by Sora; and being informed by his scouts, that the Samnites had laid an ambush for him on the banks of the Tifernus, and were waiting for his coming into a deep valley, that they might fall upon him from the hills, he resolved to attack them in their concealment. But they finding their project discovered, left their ambush, and drew up in order of battle in the plain. The brave resistance they made in the beginning of the engagement gave Fabius some uneasiness. He commanded his cavalry to give their horses the reins, and to rush upon the enemy with their usual impetuosity; but this proved ineffectual. His next recourse was to stratagem. He ordered Scipio, one of his lieutenants, to take the hastati of the first legion, march them by roundabout ways in silence to the top of a neighbouring hill, and thence fall on the enemy in the rear; and this motion was made without being perceived, either by the rest of the army, or by the Samnites. In the meantime the latter, proud of having repulsed the Roman cavalry, pushed the first line of the infantry briskly, and forced them to retire through the spaces in the second line, which consisted of the principes. But when these began likewise to lose ground, Scipio appeared with his detachment in the rear of the enemy. Fabius,

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCCCLVI.  
Bef. J. C.  
Two hundred ninety-six.

155th Consularship.

Frontini  
Stratag.  
B. 2.

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCCLVI.  
Bef. J. C.  
Two hun-  
dred ninety-  
five.

155th Con-  
sulship.

Livy, B. 10.  
c. 15.

to encourage his men, made them believe, that it was the army of his colleague Decius come to his assistance. And the same persuasion prevailing among the Samnite troops, they immediately disbanded and fled. The slaughter was not great, but the Romans took twenty-three colours.

Decius, whose name had been of service in this action, had likewise in another respect contributed to the victory, by having defeated the Apulians, who were to have joined the Samnites. After this, the two consular armies continued five months in Samnium, and made incredible devastations; Decius changing his camp forty-five times, and Fabius his eighty-six, for that purpose.

## CHAP. XXI.

- I. *Appius Claudius makes a fruitless attempt to get the consular fasces for Fabius and himself, to the exclusion of all plebeian candidates. Fabius being president in the comitia, opposes his own re-election. Great advantages are gained over the Samnites.* II. *Appius, though much embarrassed with a war against the Hetrurians, pretends to be displeased with the arrival of his colleague Volumnius, to his assistance, from Samnium. The united armies of the two consuls come to a battle with the enemy, and totally defeat them.* III. *Volumnius returns into his own province, and gains a new victory over the Samnites.*

I. **FABIUS** returned to Rome to hold the *comitia*. The centuries, first called, had all voted for him to be one of the consuls, when he



himself opposed the proceeding. At first he offered the same objection, which he had employed the year before. But when Appius Claudius, (who had probably secured his own election) and the whole body of the nobility, surrounded his chair, and pressed him in the most earnest manner "to take this opportunity of excluding the plebeians from the consulship, and thereby restoring both to that magistracy and to the patricians their pristine dignity," he answered, "that he should not have refused to receive the names of two patricians, if he had observed an intention to join any other but himself with Appius Claudius; but would never give so bad an example, as that of standing candidate, contrary to law, in an assembly where he himself presided." Hereupon Volumnus Flamma, a plebeian, was chosen colleague to Appius. The patricians, much dissatisfied with Fabius, imputed his refusal of the consulship to his dislike of Appius for a colleague, a man who far surpassed him in eloquence, and the arts of civil government.

Both the consuls of the last year received orders to continue the war in Samnium, in quality of proconsuls, for six months; so that the republic had very soon four armies on foot under four generals.

Fabius, after his return into Samnium, was obliged to lead his army against the Lucanians, who had lately rose up in arms; and he spent his proconsulate in keeping them in awe, and hindering them from joining the Samnites.

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCCCLVI.  
Bef. J. C.  
Two hundred ninety-six.

155th Consulship.  
Livy, B. 10.  
c. 15.

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCCCLVII  
Bef. J. C.  
Two hundred ninety-five.

156th Consulship.

Livy, B. 10.  
c. 16.

c. 17.

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCCLVII  
Bef. J. C.  
Two hun-  
dred ninety-  
five.

156th Con-  
sulship.

In the meantime Decius pushed the Samnites to the last extremity, drove their army even out of Samnium, and then laid siege to their towns. When he had taken and sacked Murgantia, he persuaded the soldiers to sell their booty for money, that they might not be encumbered with it in their future expeditions. After this, Romulea and Ferentinum were both taken by assault; and, to complete the destruction of Samnium, a new army of two legions and fifteen hundred auxiliaries advanced thither under the command of the consul Volumnius.

II. THE war with the Hetrurians had fallen by lot to Appius. The storm was now gathered on that side. For the Samnites, who had been driven out of their own country by Decius, had taken refuge in Hetruria, and there, in a diet held at their request, had pressed the chiefs of the lucumonies to exert their utmost strength against the Romans, offering to serve under them at their own expense, and to follow them even to the foot of the capitol. The Hetrurians, pleased with this proposal, had raised a formidable army, which was strengthened with some troops of the Gauls, whom they had engaged by the force of money to join them. Upon the news of so powerful a confederacy formed against the republic, the Romans despatched away Appius at the head of two legions and twelve thousand auxiliaries; but it was rather to keep the enemy within bounds, than in expectation of any notable advantage from the conduct of their consul. And



indeed he was worsted, for want of military skill, in every skirmish and slight action in which he ventured to engage; insomuch that the soldiers had no longer any confidence in their general, and the general became distrustful of his soldiers. In this extremity he is said (for the thing is not certain) to have written to his colleague to leave Samnium, and hasten to his assistance. Volumnius came with all expedition, and the troops of Appius were overjoyed at his arrival. But Appius himself seemed surprised at it, disowned the letter, and reproached his colleague with acting dishonourably in quitting the province assigned him, in order to gain the credit of giving assistance to others who did not want it. Volumnius upon this would have immediately returned to Samnium, if the officers of both armies had not entreated him to have no regard to the unaccountable behaviour of Appius, but to consider the interest of the republic, which required his presence in Hetruria: "We are just ready to give battle, and should matters go ill with us for want of your assistance, will it be inquired whether Appius treated you with arrogance or not? No, the Roman people will consider only the ill success of the battle, and impute it to your hasty resentments." The officers, while they remonstrated these things, insensibly led both the consuls to that part of the camp where the soldiers were wont to meet when the general was to harangue them; and where they were actually assembled. There

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCCLVII  
Bef. J. C.  
Two hundred ninety-five.

156th Consulship.

Ex-tribus  
annalibus  
citatis apud  
Livium, B.  
10. c. 18.



Year of  
R O M E  
CCCCLVII  
Bef. J. C.  
Two hun-  
dred ninety-  
five.

156th Con-  
sulship.  
In the year  
446.

the two colleagues, in longer discourses than before in their more private conversation, made their complaints of each other; and as Volumnius had the better cause, he surpassed himself on this occasion in speaking, for he was naturally no orator. Upon which Appius could not forbear rallying: "Romans, you are much obliged to me, I have made a dumb consul speak. I remember, that the first time Volumnius and I were joined together in the consulate, he scarce opened his mouth for some months: he had then no tongue, and now, you see, he is grown even eloquent, a perfect orator." Volumnius answered, "I should have been better pleased if, instead of your teaching me how to talk, I had taught you how to fight. The service of the republic requires at present an able general, more than a fine speaker; and if you have a mind to know which of us understands better the conduct of an army, that may soon be decided. There are two provinces, Samnium and Hetruria; make your choice, I am ready to undertake the war in either of them." At these words the soldiers cried out, that they should both in conjunction carry on the war in Hetruria. Volumnius answered, "Since I have already made one mistake, and have misrepresented the intention of my colleague, I should be sorry to fall into another, by misunderstanding your inclinations. So put the matter therefore out of all doubt: if you would have me stay here, signify it by an acclamation." Instantly the army gave a

general shout, which was heard in the camp of the enemy, who immediately took the alarm, and drew up in order of battle. Volumnius without delay marched out to meet them; Appius is said to have hesitated a while, undetermined whether he should fight or not, till he found that his troops were disposed to follow his colleague, in defiance of the orders of their own general. But then an emulation for glory and the shame of being obscured by a rival, roused him to such a degree, that he exerted himself beyond what could have been expected. He performed the part of an able and brave commander, having first made a vow to Bellona to build her a temple, in case he proved victorious. The united Samnites and Heturians were entirely defeated, and their camp taken and plundered.

III. THIS victory put an end to the misunderstanding between the two consuls, and they agreed to act jointly against Heturia. But Volumnius, by an unexpected event, was called back into his own province. The Samnites, though so much exhausted, had raised new levies, spread themselves over Campania, and ravaged it; which obliged Volumnius (the proconsulate of Fabius and Decius being expired) to hasten to the assistance of the Campanians. When he came to the foot of Mount Massicus, in the district of Cales, he learned that the intention of the enemy (who were encamped near the Vulturnus) was to break up their camp about midnight, march home, disburden them-

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCCLVII  
Bef. J. C.  
Two hundred ninety-five.

156th Consulship.

Livy, B: 10.  
c. 20.

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCCLVII  
Bef. J. C.  
Two hun-  
dred ninety-  
five.

156th Con-  
sulship.

Livy, B. 10.  
c. 21.

selves of their booty, and then return to make fresh devastations. Volumnius made so much expedition, that he came upon them, when they were unprepared for battle, slew six thousand of them, and recovered all the spoil they had taken. This success quieted the minds of the people at Rome, who had been much alarmed at the last enterprise of the Samnites; and they now took into consideration the proper means to secure Campania from the like incursions for the future. It was judged proper to settle two colonies, one at the mouth of the Liris, called the colony of Minturnæ, the other at Sinuessa. However, the senate deferred the execution of that design, on account of matters of greater importance, which at this time indispensably required their immediate attention.

## CHAP. XXII.

I. Q. Fabius is elected the fifth time to the consulate, and at his request the comitia grant him Decius again for a colleague. II. A rivalryship between the patrician and plebeian ladies for the reputation of strict chastity. III. The senate decree the conduct of the war against the Hetrurians to Fabius, the patrician consul. His plebeian colleague, Decius, appeals from the senate's decree to the people. IV. In an engagement which the Romans have with a confederate army of Gauls and Samnites, Decius, (who commands the Roman left wing) to recover the courage of his troops, terrified and broken by the armed chariots of the Gauls, devotes himself to death in the same manner his father had done on a like occasion; after which, Fabius obtains a complete victory. V. The Sam-



nites are again routed by the forces of Appius, now prætor of Rome, and the proconsul Volumnius. Rome is afflicted by a plague, and terrified by prodigies.

I. CERTAIN advice came to Rome, that the Hetrurians had concluded a fresh treaty with the Samnites, Umbrians, and Gauls, and that the armies of the four nations were already assembled in two camps in Hetruria, where was only Appius with his troops to make head against them. The *comitia* for the new elections being soon after held, Volumnius, (who had been recalled from Samnium to preside in them) before he took the suffrages of the centuries, put the assembly in mind, that they were that day to elect two consuls, who would have four nations to contend with; he added, that he doubted not but, in so perilous a season, they would choose the ablest general in the commonwealth to the consulate; otherwise he would have named a dictator. At these words all eyes were immediately turned again upon Fabius. But when the centuries, first called, had voted for him and for Volumnius, he started difficulties, as formerly, and excused himself on account of his age. However, he at length signified his consent, provided he might again have Decius for his colleague: "He will be a support to my old age. One censorship and two consulates, in which Decius and I have been already colleagues, have made me know what a happiness it is to the commonwealth to have her magistrates live in concord. It is hard for an old man to suit himself to a

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCCLVII  
Bef. J. C.  
Two hundred ninety-five.

156th Consulship.  
Livy, B. 10.  
c. 21.

c. 22.

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCCLVII  
Bef. J. C.  
Two hun-  
dred ninety-  
five.



156th Con-  
sulship.

\* A fifth  
time.

† A fourth  
time.

Livy, B. 10.  
c. 23.

new partner in power. It will be much easier to communicate my thoughts freely to a friend with whom I am thoroughly acquainted." Volumnius approved of Fabius's request, and made a fine encomium upon Decius, insisting much "on the great advantages which would flow from the harmony between two generals in such strict friendship." The day being spent in these harangues, the elections were put off to the next, and then Fabius\* and Decius† (though the latter was absent from the assembly) were declared consuls; Appius chosen prætor, and Volumnius continued in the command of the army in Samnium, with the title of proconsul.

II. In this crisis of an approaching terrible war, the people, being very superstitious, multiplied their public acts of devotion; and these gave rise to a quarrel among the Roman ladies. In the ox-market was a temple built to the honour of patrician chastity; and none of the wives of plebeians, how illustrious soever their husbands might be, were ever admitted into it. However, Aula Virginia being herself nobly descended, and being the wife of the plebeian consul Volumnius, claimed a right of assisting at the ceremonies with the patrician ladies. And when the latter opposed her pretensions, "What!" said she, "is my virtue‡ suspected? Was I meanly born? Or have I married two husbands?" (Second marriages were at this time so great a blemish on the Roman women, that it excluded them the temple of chastity.) But

‡ Pudicitia.

all that Virginia could say was to no purpose. She was absolutely refused admittance into the sanctuary. Upon this she formed the resolution of having a temple dedicated to plebeian chastity: she divided a part of her own house from the rest, caused an altar to be erected and consecrated in it, and having there assembled the plebeian women of the greatest distinction, complained to them of the pride of the patrician dames, told them her design, and pressed them to an emulation with those haughty ladies in the point of modesty and virtue. This scheme was readily approved, ceremonies were instituted and observed, much like those practised in the other temple; and this fervour continued for some time: but at length women of little merit and doubtful characters being admitted into the assembly, it sunk into disgrace, and no more mention was made of plebeian chastity.

The same year, the curule ædiles (Cn. and Q. Ogulnius) cited some usurers to trial; and the effects of these being, by sentence, confiscated to the public, those magistrates purchased, with the produce, brazen gates for the capitol; silver vessels sufficient to furnish three tables in the chapel of Jupiter; a statue of this god in a chariot drawn by four horses, which was placed on the pinnacle of his temple; images of the two infants (founders of the city) suckled by a she-wolf. This monument they placed at the Ruminal Fig-tree, *i. e.* in the place, where had stood the wild fig-tree, under

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCCLVII.  
Bef. J. C.  
Two hundred ninety-five.

156th Consulship.



Year of  
R O M E  
CCCLVIII.  
Bef. J. C.  
Two hun-  
dred ninety-  
four.

157th Con-  
sulship.

Livy, B. 10.  
c. 24.

which Romulus and Remus were said (in the fable concerning them) to have been carried by the stream<sup>1</sup>.

III. WHEN the time came for Fabius and Decius to enter upon office, it was natural to suppose that the latter would be induced by gratitude, as well as by the age and superior merit of his colleague, to compliment him with the command of the army in Hetruria, without drawing lots. But as the patricians made it a point of honour not to permit any other than Fabius to have the conduct of the Hetrurian war, the plebeians, on the other hand, would not suffer Fabius to have it, unless it fell to him by lot, lest the patrician consuls should for the future claim a right of choosing their provinces, and the pacific-minded Decius was compelled to go with the stream of his party. The question being carried against him in the senate, he appealed to the people in *comitia*. There the two competitors pleaded each his own cause in few words, and more in the language of soldiers than of orators. "What!" said Fabius, "have I planted a tree, and shall another gather the fruits of it? It was I who first opened a way into Hetruria though the Ciminian Forest, till

<sup>1</sup> The ædiles, from the same fund, paved with square stone the road from the gate Capena to the temple of Mars, which was not far from it, at the entrance of the Appian way. About the same time, Ælius and Fulvius, the plebeian ædiles, from the money raised by fines, laid on the farmers of the public pasture grounds, entertained the people with some shows, and presented some gold cups to Ceres.

then deemed impracticable. To what purpose did the people force me, at my age, to put myself at the helm of affairs, if they intended to give the conduct of the war to another?" After this he fell by degrees to complain of his own choice of a colleague, who seemed rather to be an adversary than a friend; and to repent of the concord in which they had lived together during their partnerships in office. And he concluded with assuring the assembly, that, notwithstanding any thing he had said, he pretended to no other right to command in the present war, than what their opinion of his abilities should give him; and that as he had submitted his cause to the determination of the senate, he was equally ready to abide by the decision of the people.

Decius began his harangue with complaining of the partiality of the senate, who, he said, envied the plebeians every degree of honour; he then pleaded the established custom of the consuls drawing lots for their provinces; after which, he thus proceeded: "Did the question relate only to the honouring of Fabius, he has so well deserved of the public, and I in particular am so much obliged to him, that I should never be backward to contribute to his glory, if I could do it without shame and disgrace to myself. But who can be so blind as not to see, that if, in the case of a dangerous war, the conduct of it be given to one of the consuls without drawing lots, the other must be deemed insufficient, useless, and supernumerary? Fa-

Year of  
R<sup>OM</sup>E  
CCCLXVIII.  
Bef. J. C.  
Two hun-  
dred ninety-  
four.

157th Con-  
sulship.

01. 2. 77. 1

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCCLVIII.  
Bef. J. C.  
Two hun-  
dred ninety-  
four.

157th Con-  
sulship.

bius boasts of his exploits in Hetruria, and Decius is ambitious of being able to boast of the like exploits; and perhaps it may be his fortune to extinguish that fire which Fabius only covered, and which has often since broke out afresh. As for honours and rewards, I shall be ever ready to yield them to my colleague, out of respect to his age and dignity; but when the question is of difficulties and dangers, I can never willingly yield these either to him or to any other." When Decius had ended, Fabius made only this short reply: "I desire, Romans, that before you decide on the present dispute, you will hear Appius's letters read." This said, he left the assembly. Appius, in his letters, had painted the dangers with which the republic was threatened in very lively colours; and there needed no more to induce the *comitia* to have recourse to the surest remedy. The people instantly and unanimously determined, that the conduct of the war in Hetruria should be committed to Fabius.

Livy, B. 10.  
c. 25.

IV. AND now all the Roman youth were eager to serve under the command of so able a general. But he, either to dispel the public fears by a show of confidence, or to prevent any associates being joined with him, declared, that he would take no stronger a reinforcement to the army than four thousand foot, and six hundred horse. With these he marched towards the camp, which the fearful Appius was still strengthening with new fortifications. Not



far from it he met a detachment, sent to cut wood in a neighbouring forest. “Whither are you going, soldiers?” said Fabius. They answered, “To the forest, for wood to fortify the camp.”—“What!” cried the general, “is it not already fortified?”—“Doubtless it is,” replied the soldiers; “and we are surrounded by a double ditch and a double rampart, yet we are still afraid.”—“You have wood enough,” said Fabius; “return to the camp, and level the rampart.” The detachment immediately returned, and put the consul’s orders in execution, which much alarmed both the army and its general, till the workmen informed them, that what they were doing was by the command of Fabius, who would soon be in the camp. Fabius arrived the same day; and the next, Appius set out for Rome, to take possession of the prætorship, to which he had been chosen, as an employment better suited to his talents and capacity than the command of an army.

Fabius observed a quite different conduct from that of his predecessor. Instead of shutting up his soldiers within fortifications, he kept them in continual motion. He said, nothing was more healthful for soldiers than a frequent change of place, and to march from one country to another; and indeed he obliged them often to make as long marches as was possible at that time of the year, for the winter was not yet over, and by this means he gave his troops an air of confidence.

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCCLVIII.  
Ref. J. C.  
Two hundred  
dred ninety-  
four.

157th Con-  
sulship.

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCLVIII.  
Bef. J. C.  
Two hun-  
dred nine-  
ty-four.

157th Con-  
sulship.

Livy, B. 10.  
c. 26.

But before the season permitted him to enter upon action, he went back to Rome, either of his own motion, or by invitation of the senate. (Some authors say, that Appius at his return had made a dreadful representation of the forces of the enemy, and had urged the necessity of sending either Decius or Volumnius with a second army to his assistance; and they add, that Decius had upon this occasion declared it to be his opinion, that Fabius ought to be left at full liberty to determine concerning the wants of his army, and the interest of the republic; and had moved, that he might be sent for to Rome, to give his judgment of the state of affairs.) When Fabius arrived, he gave such an account of things to the senate and people, as neither to increase the apprehensions of the republic, nor to let her sleep in security. As to another general's being joined with him, he said, he should acquiesce in it, on account of the fears of others, not his own, nor because he thought the republic to be in any danger; but then he desired that Decius might be the person: "How is it possible that I should forget the good intelligence in which we formerly lived? There is no man that I can prefer before him. With him I shall never want forces, nor have too many enemies to deal with. But if my colleague has other views, and cares not to act in conjunction with me, I am willing that Volumnius be sent in his stead." The senate, the people, and Decius himself, left the matter wholly to the determination of Fabius. Decius



declared, that he was ready to go either to Samnium or Hetruria, as his colleague judged best; a declaration so pleasing to the assembly, and which spread such a joy among them, that they congratulated one another as if victory had been already gained, and they were decreeing their generals a triumph, not the conduct of a war.

Before the consuls left Rome, they sent away the proconsul Volumnius into Samnium, and, in order to cover the city on the side of Hetruria, directed two camps to be pitched, one on the hill Vaticanus, close by the Janiculum, the other in the country of the Falisci. After these regulations they set out for Hetruria, and upon the road received the news of the total defeat of a legion which Fabius had left under the command of Scipio, near old Clusium. A numerous body of those Gauls called Senones had surrounded the Romans, and cut them all off. However, the consuls were not discouraged by this accident. Their army consisted of four legions, a good number of Roman knights, a thousand Campanian horse, and a body of auxiliaries more numerous than the forces of the Romans. They divided it into two parts, and encamped separately, but not far from each other, in the plain of Sentinum, about four miles from the enemy. It is said, that the army of the Gauls and Samnites, who encamped together, consisted of a hundred and forty-three thousand three hundred and thirty foot, and forty-six thousand horse. What the

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCLVIII  
Bef. J. C.  
Two hundred  
nine-  
ty-four.

157th Con-  
sulship.

Livy, B. 10.  
c. 27, 28.



Year of  
R O M E  
CCCLVIII.  
Bef. J. C.  
Two hun-  
d red nine-  
ty-four.

157th Con-  
sulship.

number was of the Heturians and Umbrians (who jointly made another camp) is not told. It was agreed among these confederates, that the Gauls and Samnites only should engage the Romans in the field, whilst the Heturians and Umbrians attacked their two camps. Fabius had notice, by deserters, of this design; and in order to disconcert it, and make a diversion, he sent directions to the proprætors, Fulvius and Posthumius, who were encamped near Rome, to march their two armies into Heturia, and ravage it. This stratagem had the desired effect. The Heturians and Umbrians hastened to the relief of the poor people, whose houses were plundered, and lands laid waste; and, during their absence, the consuls brought the Gauls and Samnites to a battle. This is the first time that we read of armed chariots used in the wars of Italy. The Gauls surprised the Romans, soon after the action began, with this new way of fighting. Not only the Roman cavalry, but the infantry too of the left wing, which Decius commanded, was disordered, and entirely broken by them; nor could he by his utmost efforts engage his terrified soldiers to rally. In this extremity he remembered the example of his father, and in the very same manner devoted himself to the Dii Manes to save his army: Assisted by M. Livius the pontifex, he performed the same ceremonies, pronounced the same form of words, and rushed unarmed among the enemy. The loss of the general usually occasions the defeat

of his troops; but such was the superstition of the Romans, that the death of their general, in this way of sacrifice, gave them new courage. The pontifex, who was himself a brave soldier, took advantage of their prejudices, put himself at their head, and easily brought them to renew the attack, in which they were seconded by some troops, sent by Fabius from the rear, under the command of his two lieutenants. The fortune of the day quickly changed in favour of the Romans in the left wing.

In the meantime, Fabius, who had hitherto done little more than act upon the defensive, artfully managing his troops till the first fury of the Samnites was abated, now ordered his cavalry to wheel about, flank the wings of the enemy, and be ready to charge upon a signal given. He then began to press upon the enemy in front; and as soon as he perceived that their strength was greatly exhausted, he made horse and foot, troops of reserve, all charge at once; nor could the Samnites sustain the shock; they fled to their camp, leaving the Gauls by themselves to make good the fight.

To break the Gauls, who yet kept their ground, Fabius detached a body of five hundred Campanian horse to fetch a compass, and fall upon their rear, commanding the principes of the second legion to follow this detachment of horse, and wherever they should see the enemy's ranks broken by them, to press on, and hinder the Gauls from rallying. This mo-

Year of  
R O M E  
cccclviii.  
Bef. J. C.  
Two hun-  
dred ninety-  
four.

157th Con-  
sulship.

Livy, B. 10.  
c. 29.

10. Year of  
R O M E  
CCCLVIII.  
Bef. J. C.  
Two hun-  
dred ninety-  
four.

157th Con-  
sulship.

tion succeeded so well, that the Gauls were at length defeated.

In the meantime, Fabius forced the camp of the Samnites, and made a terrible slaughter there. Twenty-five thousand of the enemy were killed in the action of this day, and eight thousand taken prisoners. Among the former was Gellius Egnatius, an eminent Samnite commander, who by his negotiations had brought about the formidable alliance of the four nations. The Romans lost of the left wing seven thousand men, and one thousand two hundred in the right. The consul's first care, after the victory, was to perform a promise he had made in the heat of the battle, to burn the spoils of the enemy in honour to Jupiter the Conqueror. He then caused search to be made for the body of Decius, which being hidden under heaps of the slain, could not be discovered that day, but the day following was found; due obsequies were performed for the dead hero, and Fabius spoke his funeral oration.

Livy, B. 10.  
c. 30.

As for the proprætors, Fulvius and Posthumius, they gained great advantages in Hetruria; and the proconsul Volumnius obtained a considerable victory over the Samnites at the foot of Mount Tifernus. But notwithstanding all these victories, neither Samnites nor Hetrurians were yet brought into subjection. The latter took courage, and assembled fresh forces as soon as Fabius left the country, so that he was obliged to lead his army thither again. A

c. 31.



new victory obtained over them was the last of this hero's exploits, in the station of chief commander.

Fabius had a son whose surname was Gurgus, or The Gulf, an appellation given him on account of his excessive intemperance in his youth. This man afterwards corrected his way of living, and though he never equalled his father in any kind of merit, became worthy of public offices. He was now curule ædile, and in order to wipe off the shame of his past excesses, turned a zealous reformer of manners. He brought before the tribunal of the people accusations of adultery against great numbers of women of distinction, who, being convicted, were condemned to pecuniary fines. The money arising from these fines, he consecrated to the building of a temple to Venus near the great Circus.

V. BEFORE the end of this year the Samnites brought two new armies into the field in different places, and even acted on the offensive. Upon which Appius the prætor was despatched from Rome to put himself at the head of those troops which Decius had commanded, and was ordered to go to the assistance of the proconsul Volumnius. These two generals having united their forces, defeated the enemy (whom they had constrained to join theirs) in a pitched battle fought in the Campi Stellates in Campania. The Samnites lost sixteen thousand three hundred men.

Rome had never before made war in so many

Year of  
R. O. M. E.  
CCCCLVIII.  
Bef. J. C.  
Two hundred ninety-four.

157th Consulship.  
Macrob.  
Satur. B. 3.  
c. 13.

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCCLVIII.  
Bef. J. C.  
Two hundred ninety-  
four.

157th Con-  
sulship.  
Oros. B. 3.  
c. 21.  
Zonaras,  
B. 6.  
Livy, B. 10.  
c. 31.

places at the same time with more success. But in the midst of her rejoicings for such signal victories, she was visited with a dreadful plague. It was a melancholy contrast, as Orosius observes, to behold the triumphal procession of Fabius, often interrupted by funerals; and the applauses of the people by the lamentations of those who bewailed the dead, or the dying.

Prodigies were never in greater plenty than this year. In three days there flowed successively, from the altar of Jupiter Capitolinus, three different liquors; the first day blood, the second honey, and the third milk; and in divers places it rained earth. The augurs and Sybilline books were consulted upon these imaginary prognostics, and the joy for past victories was much damped by the present calamity, and by the apprehension of impending evils.

#### CHAP. XXIII.

*I. The war was carried on against the Samnites with various success. II. Three of the lucumonies of Hetruria are reduced to sue for peace. III. The Samnite war is continued. The Samnites make 16,000 of their soldiers bind themselves by oaths and imprecations to conquer or die. The Romans gain the victory by a new stratagem. IV. The war breaks out afresh in Hetruria. The Hetrurians are reduced to buy a truce for a year. In this year a sun-dial is, for the first time, seen at Rome. V. A new regulation is made relating to the guardianship of orphans, and another relating to the public games.*

**I. THE** republic had now been forty-eight years in war with the Samnites, almost without

interruption; and though the latter had been so often vanquished, they did not relinquish the hope of being finally the conquerors. Four times (says Livy) they had been defeated the very last year; they had lost their ablest general; they saw their allies in the same adverse fortune as themselves; they could neither by their own strength, nor by foreign aid, maintain their ground; yet they did not desist from the war: they were never weary of fighting, even unfortunately, in the defence of liberty: they chose rather to be vanquished than not strive for victory.

So considerable were the preparations they made to take the field once more, that the senate thought it necessary to employ against them both the new consuls, L. Posthumius Megellus \* and M. Atilius Regulus: but, Posthumius falling sick, Atilius was despatched away without him, to attack the enemy before they could get out of Samnium. The two armies met just upon the confines of Campania; and here the consul was no sooner encamped than the Samnites formed the bold design of forcing his lines. By the help of a very thick fog they approached the Roman camp, surprised the advanced guards, made themselves masters of the Decuman gate, and penetrated as far as to the quæstor's tent, where the military chest was kept. The alarm reaching to the general's quarters, he awaked, put himself at the head of some manipuli, and, in short, repulsed the enemy, but durst not pursue them for fear of

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCCLIX.  
Bef. J. C.  
Two hundred ninety-  
three.

158th Con-  
sulship.

Livy B. 10.  
c. 32, 33.

\* A second  
time.



Year of  
R O M E  
CCCCLIX.  
Bef. J. C.  
Two hun-  
dred ninety-  
three.

158th Con-  
sulship.

an ambush. Though this enterprise of the Samnites did not prove successful, yet the courage with which they had felt themselves animated to make the attempt gave them new confidence; and they kept the Romans so closely shut up, that they could not enter Samnium, to live there upon free quarter.

The disadvantageous situation of Atilius's army alarmed the senate and people at Rome; so that Posthumius, though not perfectly recovered, thought himself obliged to set out for Samnium with the two legions allotted him. Upon his arrival the Samnites, being in no condition to make head against two consular armies, decamped in haste, and left their country open to be pillaged. Posthumius applied himself to the besieging of towns, and took Milionia and Triventum; the latter without fighting.

Atilius met with more difficulties and danger in his expeditions. Having received intelligence that the Samnites were besieging Luceria in Apulia, he hastened to its relief, but found the enemy in his way. The two armies came to an engagement, in which the Romans suffered most; and this misfortune so mightily dejected them, that they passed the night in great uneasiness, expecting every moment to see the enemy approach to force their lines. But it happened on the other hand, that the Samnites were no less terrified, and thought only of returning home. The difficulty was how to put their design in execution, because the place

Livy, B. 10.  
c. 34, 35,  
and 36.

where they were posted was a kind of defile and much confined, and the Romans were between them and Samnium. They resolved at length to go directly towards the Roman camp, endeavour to march along by the side of it, and make the plain. The consul imagining that the enemy was come to attack him, gave orders to his legions to prepare for battle, and to follow him out of the camp. But though the officers were ready enough to obey him, the soldiers were so fatigued and intimidated, that he could not, even by soft words, prevail with them to stir. In the meantime the Samnites drew near, and the Roman soldiers pretended to discern, that they were loaded with stakes, as if they meant to form a palisade round the camp. The consul hereupon expostulated with his men on the disgrace of suffering themselves to be shut up in their camp to starve there; and shame at length made them march out, though very slowly and unwillingly. The motion of the Romans was a disappointment to the Samnites, for they had hoped to avoid a battle; however, when they found it necessary to fight, they prepared for it; and thus two coward armies were brought to an engagement entirely against their inclinations. The Romans gave ground, and would have fled into their intrenchments; but Atilius ordering some troops of horse to the rear of his infantry, with directions to kill every Roman who should attempt to enter the camp, the runaways were hereby brought to rally and renew the fight.

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCCCLIX  
Bef. J. C.  
Two hundred ninety-three.

158th Consulship.



Year of  
R O M E  
CCCCLIX.  
Bef. J. C.  
Two hun-  
dred ninety-  
three.

158th Con-  
sulship.

The victory at length fell to the Romans, after they had lost seven thousand three hundred men. Atilius soon after, in his march homeward, met with a body of Samnites, who, having made an incursion into the country of the Volsci, and brought thence a considerable booty and many Roman prisoners, were marching home in great disorder; he cut them in pieces, recovered the booty, and released the captives. After this, he returned to Rome, to preside at the new elections.

A triumph he was refused for two reasons, for having lost so many men in the battle, and for having released his prisoners on the sole condition of their passing under the yoke.

Livy, B. 10.  
c. 37.

II. THE other consul, Posthumius, because he could find no employment for his troops in Samnium, marched them without any order from the senate into Hetruria. Here he defeated the Volsinienses, took Rusellæ by assault, and reduced Volsinii, Perusia, and Arretium (three principal cities) to sue for peace. The senate granted them a truce of forty years, on condition of their paying each 500,000 pounds of brass into the treasury of the republic. For these exploits the consul, without scruple, petitioned the senate for a triumph; not that he expected the fathers would grant it, but because it was customary, on such occasions, to make the first application to them. Some opposed his request, on pretence that he had not

The Fast. Cap. give Atilius a triumph over the Volsones and Samnites.



taken the field early enough; others, because he had left his province without the senate's direction. Posthumius perceiving that the members who made these objections were influenced partly by their enmity to him, partly by their friendship for the other consul, (whom, having met with the like refusal, they would console, by putting his colleague on the same foot with him) frankly addressed the house in these terms: "Conscript fathers, I shall not have my mind so wholly possessed with the remembrance and contemplation of your majesty, as to forget that I am a consul. The wars which I undertook, I have conducted with success; I have subdued Samnium and Hetruria; I have obtained for the republic victory and peace; and now, in right of the same authority by which I made war, I will triumph." This said, he left the assembly. A contest hereupon arose among the tribunes of the commons: some said, they would forbid his triumph, as unprecedented, and of bad example; others declared they would support him in his pretension. The affair came at length before the people; and Posthumius was summoned to the assembly. He put them in mind, "that the consuls Valerius and Horatius\*, and lately Marcius Rutilus, father of one of the present censors, had triumphed, not by the authority of the senate, but by the will of the people." He added, "that, if he had not known that some of the tribunes, mere vassals to the nobles, would have employed their veto against his bill,

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCCCLIX.  
Bef. J. C.  
Two hundred ninety-three.

158th Consulship.

\* In 304.

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCCLIX.  
Bef. J. C.  
Two hun-  
dred ninety-  
three.

158th Con-  
sulship.

Livy, B. 10.  
c. 37.

\* Adversus  
interces-  
sionem.

he should have made his first application to the *comitia*; for that the good pleasure and favour of the people, unanimous, did, and ever would, with him, supply the place of all decrees and commands." The next day, contrary to the will of the whole senate, and in spite of the opposition of seven of the tribunes\*, the consul, aided by the other three, obtained the honours of the triumph; and the people solemnized the day with extraordinary rejoicings.<sup>2</sup>

\* Fast. Ca-  
pit.

By a census taken this year\*, the number of Roman citizens, fit to bear arms, appeared to be 262,322. Livy transfers this census to the next year, and calls the lustrum that followed it, the nineteenth, reckoning only from the institution (in the year 310) of the censorship; and even then there is the difference of one between his reckoning and that of the *Fasti*; according to which, the census of this year was the twentieth, and the lustrum the thirtieth.

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCCLX.  
Bef. J. C.  
Two hun-  
dred ninety-  
two.

159th Con-  
sulship.

Livy, B. 10.  
c. 47.

III. To L. Papirius Cursor (son of the famous hero of that name, five times consul) and Sp. Carvilius were transferred the consular fasces. Atilius, the late consul, obtained the prætorship. His colleague Posthumius, to avoid a trial before the people, to which a certain tribune, named Scantius, had cited him [probably

Livy, at the end of this account, acquaints us, that there is no certainty concerning the military actions of this year, or the commanders who performed them; and he mentions some particulars, as related by Claudius, others as related by Fabius, which are not in the foregoing narrative, but are in some things inconsistent with it.



for having left his province without orders] engaged Carvilius to appoint him one of his lieutenants.

At this time the Samnites, to make another vigorous effort, published a new law, importing that whoever, of an age fit to bear arms, should not appear in the field on a summons from the general, or should leave the service without permission, his head should be devoted to Jupiter: (*i. e.* it should be lawful for any one to kill him wherever found) and they appointed Aquilonia [a town of Hirpinia situated between Beneventum and Luceria] to be the place of rendezvous.

A numerous army being by this means assembled, the general caused to be erected, in the centre of the camp, a tent or booth two hundred feet square, covered on the top with linen cloth, and so close on all sides, that nothing of what passed within could be seen by those without. Here sacrifices were offered according to an old ceremonial, which Ovius Paccius, an old priest, pretended to have found in an old linen book. This rite being performed, the general summoned all the principal men, men distinguished either by their birth or exploits, and introduced them one by one into the tent. Here, to their unspeakable terror, they beheld altars surrounded with slaughtered victims, and centurions standing by with drawn swords, and each person introduced was led to the altars more like a victim than an assistant at a sacrifice. Immediately was administered to him

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCCLX.  
Bef. J. C.  
Two hundred ninety-two.

159th Consulship.



Year of  
R O M E  
CCCCLX.  
Bef. J. C.  
Two hun-  
dred ninety-  
two.

159th Con-  
sulship.

an oath of secrecy as to every thing he should hear or see in that place; after which, he was constrained to pronounce a curse upon himself, his family, and his posterity, if he did not follow wherever the generals should lead him to fight, if he ever fled himself, or if he did not kill those whom he should see flying. Some of the first refusing to swear, were instantly killed; and their bodies, thrown among the carcasses of the victims, were, to those who followed, an effectual lesson to comply. Of the principal men of the Samnites, when they had all gone through this ceremony, the general selected ten, commanding that each of these should, for the service, choose<sup>3</sup>, out of his acquaintance, the man upon whose bravery he could most rely, and that this man should choose another, of whom he had the like opinion, and so on, each man chosen choosing another, till the number of sixteen thousand was completed. These were called the linen-legion (*legio linteata*) from the covering of the tent where the nobility were sworn; and they had finer helmets and bucklers than the rest of the troops, amounting to above twenty thousand, who, nevertheless, made a fine appearance.

Livy, B. 10.  
c. 39.

While these things were doing, Carvilius, at the head of the army, which Atilius had left near Interamna, made his way towards Samnium; and his first exploit was the taking of

<sup>3</sup> This seems to be the meaning of Livy's words; "Decem nominatis ab imperatore, eis dictum, ut vir virum legerent, donec sexdecim millium numerum confecissent."

Amiternum, a city of Sabinia, belonging to the Samnites. Papirius in the meantime hastened the new levies at Rome, and, as soon as his legions were complete, entered upon action. He took Furconia (Livy calls it Duronia) in the neighbourhood of Amiternum, and then joining his colleague, they went together to ravage that part of the Volscian territory, which was under the domination of the Samnites. After this, Carvilius prepared to lay siege to Cominium, in the extremity of the eastern part of Samnium; and Papirius marched to Aquilonia, where the main strength of the Samnites was assembled.

PAPIRIUS, after some slight skirmishes with the enemy, acquainted his colleague, by a messenger, that he intended to give battle the next day, in case the auspices were favourable; and desired him to press the siege of Cominium vigorously, that no detachments might be sent from thence to strengthen the Samnite army. Then calling his troops together, he exhorted them “not to fear the enemy for the extraordinary methods they had taken to make themselves valiant;” told them, “that oaths, extorted by fear and violence, would never give true courage;” put them in mind of his father’s victory over the Samnite army, which had “made themselves fine, as these had done with proud crests to their helmets, and magnificent bucklers.” Animated by these words, the soldiers with one voice called out to lead them to battle: nay, so universal was the desire of

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCCLX.  
Bef. J. C.  
Two hundred  
ninety-two.

159th Con-  
sulship.

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCCLX.  
Bef. J. C.  
Two hundred nine-  
ty-two.

159th Con-  
sulship.  
Livy, B. 10.  
c. 40.  
Tripudium  
Solistium.

Val. Max.  
B. 7. c. 2.

coming to an engagement, that one of the pullarii, or keepers of the chickens, made a false report of their behaviour, and declared, that they had leaped presently out of their cage, and fed so greedily as to let some of their meat drop out of their mouths upon the pavement: good omens these, but the facts were not true. The general seemed overjoyed at the augury, and ordered preparations to be made for fighting. When, the next day, he had assigned his several officers their posts, and had made all the proper dispositions to charge the enemy, his nephew Papirius, a youth born in an age (says Livy) when men were not yet acquainted with that philosophy which teaches a contempt of the gods, discovered to him the error he was in; and he did this at the instigation of some Roman knights, who had overheard the keepers of the chickens disputing about the augury of that day. The general answered, "I commend your pious zeal and care: but if the augur has given a false account, the vengeance will fall upon his head alone. The augury, as reported to me, was good and fortunate for the Roman people." He then commanded, that the keepers of the chickens should be placed, at the head of the first line; and, before the two armies came to a close engagement, he who had made the false report was killed by an unknown hand [probably by order of the consul.] The news being brought to Papirius, he pretended to consider it as a stroke from heaven. "The gods are with us," he cried, "their vengeance has spent



itself on the guilty head." In the beginning of the action the Samnites, especially those who had bound themselves by oath not to fly, made a vigorous resistance; till on a sudden they perceived at some distance a cloud of dust, such as is wont to be raised by the march of a considerable army. This dust was caused by the servants and muleteers of the Roman camp, whom Papirius had ordered one of his officers to mount upon mules and beasts of burden, and lead them, together with some manipuli of the allies, by roundabout ways, to the top of a neighbouring hill, from whence they were to fall upon the enemy in the heat of the battle. These troops had provided themselves with branches of trees, which they had trained along the ground, to raise the greater dust. Nothing could be seen but the tops of some standards and lances, and something like cavalry, which seemed to flank a body of infantry on each side. Both armies were deceived by this appearance; and, the better to carry on the deceit, Papirius himself pretended to be surprised, and cried out with an air of joy, "COMINIUM must certainly be taken, and my colleague is come to my assistance. Courage, soldiers; let us make haste to gain the victory, before another army can arrive to share the glory of the day." Then making the signal for his cavalry to charge, they instantly gave the reins to their horses, drove full speed through the files of the infantry (that widened and made room for that purpose) upon the enemy's bat-

Year of  
R. O. M. E.  
CCOCLX.  
Bef. J. C.  
Two hun-  
dred nine-  
ty-two.

159th Con-  
sulship.

Livy, B. 10.  
c. 41, 42.

Frontinii  
Strat. B. 2.  
c. 4.

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCCLX.  
Bef. J. C.  
Two hun-  
dred nine-  
ty-two.

159th Con-  
sulship.

Oros. B. 3.  
c. 22

talions, and quickly put them to the rout. Twelve thousand of the Samnites, according to Orosius, were slain; but, according to Livy, above thirty thousand; and Aquilonia, whither most of the fugitives fled for shelter, was soon after taken.

It is recorded (says Livy) that Papirius, whether from natural temper, or from a confidence of success, showed, in the important battle of this day, a cheerfulness, such as had hardly ever been seen in any other general on a like occasion. From the same strength of mind it was, that a doubtful augury could not divert him from fighting, and that, in the heat of action, when it was customary for commanders to vow temples to the gods, he only vowed, that, in case of victory, he would make to Jupiter a libation of wine mixed with honey, before he tasted wine himself. The gods were pleased with the vow, and turned the bad omens to good.

Livy, B. 10.  
c. 43. &  
seq.

IV. CARVILIUS was preparing to make a vigorous attack upon Cominium, according to the agreement between him and his colleague, when he received a letter which Papirius had wrote to him before the battle, with notice that the Samnites had sent away a large detachment of their army to relieve the place. Upon this news he despatched Brutus Scæva, with the first legion and twenty cohorts of auxiliaries, to meet the Samnite reinforcement, with order to amuse or fight them wherever he should find them. In the meantime, with the rest of his army he



gave an assault to the town, and took it. The besieged, to the number of 15,400, surrendered at discretion, 4380 had been slain.

Such was the success at Cominium and Aquilonia. Both these towns were given up to the soldiers to be plundered, and then were burnt. The two detachments did not come to an engagement; for, that of the Samnites, being recalled when within seven miles of Cominium, Brutus Scæva did not meet with it.

After these conquests, the two armies encamped together; but in a council of war it being judged expedient to push the advantages gained over the Samnites, to the total reduction of them, by taking the rest of their cities, Carvilius went to lay siege to Volana, (in Lucania, near Cape Palinurus) dependent doubtless on the Samnites; and Papirius to attempt the conquest of Sepinum, a town situated at the foot of the Apennines, near the head of the Tamarus.

The news of the great success of the Roman arms in Samnium was the more agreeable at Rome, as an account came at the same time, that the Heturians were beginning to take arms again; which account was soon after confirmed by deputies sent from some cities in alliance with the republic. Nor was this all; the Falisci, who were the nearest neighbours to Rome on the side of Hetruria, revolted, and joined the enemy. It was necessary therefore to recal one of the consuls, with his army, from Samnium; they were ordered to cast lots

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCCCLX.  
Bef. J. C.  
Two hundred ninety-two.

159th Consulship.

Livy, B. 10.  
c. 43, et seq.  
c. 45.



Year of  
R O M E  
CCCCLX.  
Ref. J. C.  
Two hun-  
dred ninety-  
two.

159th Con-  
sulship.

Livy, B. 10.  
c. 46.

Plin. B. 7.  
c. 60.

for the conduct of the Hettrurian war, and it fell to Carvilius, who by this time had taken Volana, Palumbinum, and Herculaneum from the Samnites.

Papirius, after the departure of his colleague, took Sepinum by assault, and gave the booty to his soldiers. He then returned to Rome, full of glory, in the month of February, and was honoured with a triumph. The rich spoils taken from the Samnites made his procession very magnificent. Papirius had brought away from the conquered countries 2,533,000 pounds weight of brass, and 1330 pounds weight of silver. But though these riches swelled the pomp of the victor's triumph, he lost the goodwill of his soldiers, by giving all into the public treasury. And the people's discontent was yet greater, when a tax came to be laid upon them to pay his troops, which might have been satisfied by distributing among them a part of that wealth. Papirius on this occasion dedicated a temple (to Quirinus) which his father, when dictator, had vowed. He adorned it with the fine spoils taken from the Samnites. Upon this temple was also fixed a sundial; the first ever seen at Rome. Anaximenes the Milesian had many years before, as Pliny tells us, discovered the secret, but the invention had not reached to Rome. The Romans for a long while marked only the rising and setting of the sun; afterwards they observed the hour of noon, but in

† Between six and seven thousand pounds sterling.

a very gross manner. When the sun shined between the Rostra and the house appointed for the reception of ambassadors, one of the consul's heralds used to proclaim with a loud voice, that it was mid-day. But now they could mark the several hours of the day; and the water-clock invented soon after, enabled them to reckon the hours of the night.

As soon as Papirius had triumphed, he left Rome again, to lead his troops into the territory of Vescia, which the Samnites still infested, and there he passed the rest of the winter. In the meantime, Carvilius, in Hetruria, took Troilium by assault, and reduced the Falisci to sue for peace. He granted them however no more than a year's truce, and for that he made them pay dear. After this he returned to Rome, and had a triumph. He brought with him 390, 000 asses<sup>5</sup> of brass for the public treasury, without reckoning a considerable sum which he reserved to build a temple to Fortune. And he gave besides to each private soldier of the foot one hundred and two pounds of brass<sup>6</sup>, and twice that sum to each centurion and horseman; a small present, but well received, and which the remembrance of Papirius's parsimonious conduct made still more agreeable; and by this means he became popular enough to prevail with the people to drop the prosecution, which the tribune Scantius had begun against Posthumius, one of the consuls of the last year.

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCCCLX.  
Bef. J. C.  
Two hundred ninety-two.

159th Consulship.

Livy, B. 10.  
c. 46.

Ædem Fortis Fortunæ.

Livy, B. 10.  
c. 47.

<sup>5</sup> 1259l. 7s. 6d. Arbuthnot. <sup>6</sup> 6s. 7d. Arbuthnot.

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCCLX.  
Bef. J. C.  
Two hun-  
dred ninety-  
two.

159th Con-  
sulship.  
Ulpian de  
Tutelis.

Livy, B. 10.  
c. 47.

V. It was probably at this time that Atilius, the other consul of the last year, now prætor, made a new law relating to guardianships. The twelve tables had not provided for those orphans, whose fathers died intestate, and who had no near relation to take upon him the guardianship of them. The Atilian law ordained, that the prætor and the tribunes of the people should by a plurality of voices assign such orphans a guardian. At the same time the curule ædiles published an ordinance, that those who had received crowns, as the rewards of their military exploits, might wear them at the public games; and that palm branches should be put into the hands of the victors in those games.

#### CHAP. XXIV.

I. *Q. Fabius Gurgæ* (son of *Fabius Maximus*) is chosen to the consulate, though his father had opposed his promotion. Through his ill conduct he is shamefully vanquished in a battle with the *Samnites*. Old *Fabius* serves under his son the remainder of the campaign, which proves successful. II. The Romans, to put a stop to the plague, send ambassadors to bring from *Epidaurus* the god *Æsculapius*, worshipped there under the form of a serpent. III. The god arrives. The haughty behaviour of *Posthumius*, one of the consuls. He succeeds in the war, but is punished at his return to Rome. IV. The consul *CURIUS DENTATUS* (a hero famous for living in a voluntary poverty) reduces the *Samnites* to ask peace. V. He reduces *Sabinia* to a state of subjection to the republic. He is accused of embezzling some of the spoil taken from the enemy. VI. Colonies are sent into the conquered cities. To relieve the prætor of Rome, three new judges are cre-



*ated to try malefactors. The cruelty of a creditor to his debtor occasions a new secession of the people. The patricians are obliged to make concessions. Fabius Maximus in his old age is named dictator, to finish the accommodation. He soon after dies.*

I. PAPIRIUS held the *comitia* for the election of consuls. The choice fell upon two men of small abilities for war, Q. Fabius Gurges (the son of Fabius Maximus) and Junius Brutus Scæva. It is undoubted, that Fabius the father opposed the promotion of his son; but it is very uncertain for what reason; whether, as Valerius Maximus thinks, from a republican principle, and because he thought it of pernicious example to have one family loaded with so many honours, he having himself been promoted to that dignity; or whether on account of some domestic quarrel, or whether because he judged his son unqualified for so high a station. Rome being at this time visited with a plague, which made terrible havoc, this, together with the incapacity of the new consuls, encouraged the Falisci to break their truce, and the Samnites to take arms again, and spread themselves over Campania. It fell to Brutus's lot to march into Hetruria against the Falisci. The republic, to supply his defects, appointed Carvilius to be his lieutenant, and by his assistance the consul made a successful expedition.

But on the other hand, Fabius Gurges, having all the fire of the Fabii without their usual prudence, rashly, and without drawing up his troops in order of battle, engaged with the

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCCLXI.  
Bef. J. C.  
Two hundred ninety-one.

160th Consulship.

Livy, B. 10.  
c. 47.  
Val. Max.  
B. 4. c. 1.  
Oros. B. 3.  
c. 22.

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCCLXI.  
Bef. J. C.  
Two hun-  
dred ninety-  
one.

160th Con-  
sulship.  
Eutrop. B.  
2.  
Zonaras, B.  
8.  
Liv. Epit.  
11.  
Dio Coc-  
ceianus in  
excerptis à  
Valesio.

Samnites, and lost three thousand men, he himself escaping only by the favour of the night. The account of the ill conduct of Gurges so exasperated the public against him, that the senate were going to remove him from the command of the army; but then the zeal of Fabius Maximus for the honour of his family was roused, and he undertook his son's cause. Without excusing the precipitate conduct of the consul, he desired the assembly to pardon it, in consideration of the many victories which he himself had formerly obtained for the republic. He represented to them, that his son's disgrace had not been owing to a want of bravery, but to youthful imprudence, which time and experience might correct. And, lastly, he offered to go and serve under his son, and promised soon to repair the loss which the state had suffered by his son's mismanagement. The people accepted this offer, and were appeased.

Fabius Maximus accompanied his son into the field against the Samnites, in quality of his lieutenant, and not only assisted him by his advice, but when in a battle, which was soon after fought, the consul, following the impulse of his courage, and eager to recover his honour, had indiscreetly penetrated too far among the enemies, and was surrounded by them, rescued him out of their hands by his personal bravery. So gallant an action, in a man of his years, animated the Roman legions to exert themselves with more than ordinary vigour, and they soon put the Samnites to the rout.

Oros. B. 3.  
c. 22.

Twenty thousand of the enemy were slain, and four thousand taken prisoners; among the latter was their famous general, Pontius Herennius, who had commanded them in this and the former battle.

II. THE joy at Rome for so complete a victory would have been much greater, if it had not been damped by the plague, which still continued to make dreadful devastation. In this distress the Romans had recourse to the usual remedy, superstition. The Sybilline books were consulted, and it was there read, that to put a stop to the pestilence, the god Æsculapius, adored under the form of a serpent, must be brought to Rome from Epidaurus, a city of Peloponnesus. An embassy was accordingly appointed for that purpose.

III. THE time for the new election drawing on, and the consuls being both in the field, a dictator was named to hold the *comitia*; but his nomination being found defective, the government fell into an interregnum; and then Posthumius (the very same man who had so lately escaped a condemnation) holding the assembly, contrived to get himself elected\* one of the new consuls. With Posthumius was joined Junius Brutus Bubulcus.

Posthumius, now the third time consul, and as proud in office as he had been ambitious in procuring to himself the consular dignity, disdained to draw lots with his plebeian colleague for their provinces. He insisted upon having the command of the army in Samnium; and Brutus, finding that his colleague had a power-

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCCCLI.  
Bef. J. C.  
Two hundred ninety-one.

160th Consulship.

Livy, B. 10.  
c. 47.

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCCCLXII  
Bef. J. C.  
Two hundred ninety.

161st Consulship.

\* A third time.



Year of  
R O M E  
CCCCLXI  
Bef. J. C.  
Two hun-  
dred ninety.

161st Con-  
sulship.

Suidas in  
Posthum.  
D. Hal. in  
excerptis à  
Valesio.

ful party in the senate, consented to command in Hetruria, without waiting for a decree.

About this time the god Æsculapius<sup>1</sup>, that

<sup>1</sup> Æsculapius\* was a native of Messene, a city of Peloponnesus. As soon as he was born, his parents exposed him in the midst of a forest, where he was found by some hunters. These had compassion on him, and caused him to be suckled by a bitch. When he was old enough to be capable of instruction, he was committed to the care of the famous Chiron, who taught him physic, or, if you will, surgery; for the two arts were then confounded. The disciple soon excelled his master, and being grown an able physician, settled at Epidaurus, a city of Argia, and practised his art there. It must be granted, that Æsculapius made some discoveries in the cure of diseases and wounds. He is said to have invented the probe; to have first made use of bandages; and to have been the first who invented purges, and the art of drawing teeth. And as he lived in an age wherein it was usual to deify those who distinguished themselves by any useful discoveries, the people were pleased to call him the son of Apollo, and to rank him among the gods. After which, he soon had a temple erected to him in Epidaurus; which was built upon an eminence without the city, because the most airy and wholesome situations are most suitable to the god of Health. There the priests, who presided over the worship of this new god, bred one of those snakes, which are easily tamed, and taught to follow any persons where they please, without any danger of being bit by them: and the silly vulgar honoured this snake as the god himself. His usual hole was under the feet of the fine stone statue of Æsculapius, which the famous sculptor Thrasymedes of Paros had made; and whenever he came out of it, his appearance was understood to prognosticate the cure of the sick. The envoys of Rome were brought into this temple, to which the love of life drew all Greece,

\* The particulars concerning Æsculapius are taken from D. Hal. in excerp. à Valesio. Lactant. ex Tarquitio, Cicero de nat. Deor. B. 3. Plut. in Quæst. Rom. Pausanias, Auth. de Vir. Illust. c. 22. Ovid Met. B. 15. Val. Max. B. 1. c. 8. Pliny, B. 29, c. 1.

is to say, a tame snake, which the Roman ambassadors had bought of the priests belonging and which gratitude for cures imagined to be there obtained had exceedingly enriched. Ogulnius was at the head of the embassy: and it is probable the Epidaurians made the Romans pay very dear for the relief they sought; their reputation and interest being then very small in Greece. Be that as it will, the Epidaurians granted their request, and suffered them to carry away with them the important snake. It is reported as a prodigy, that the snake came out in sight of the ambassadors, whilst they were attentively viewing the statue of Æsculapius: and that he left the temple of Epidaurus of his own accord, and winding his great body along, passed all through the city, and went directly to the port where the Roman ship was at anchor. To which it is added, that he entered the vessel of his own accord, went directly to Ogulnius's cabin, and curling himself into several circles continued quietly there. An account which is neither incredible nor miraculous, if we suppose, (which might have been the case) that the master of the snake, who had tamed him, went before him to the ship. Besides, this was not the first time that one of these snakes had been taken out of the temple of Epidaurus. The Sicyonians had already carried one from thence to their city, in a chariot; and an unknown woman, named Nicagore, had conducted him thither. Thus the impostures of the Greeks furnished the nations, who were willing to be cheated, with Æsculapiuses; and thus the Romans, among others, were bubbled by them.

The other adventures of the pretended Æsculapius, in his passage from Epidaurus to Rome, have been celebrated both by the historians and poets. They relate, that the ambassadors experienced the good effects of the god's presence in their voyage, it being exceeding prosperous and happy. Nevertheless, the sea became boisterous towards the coast of Italy, and the violence of the winds forced the seamen to put in at the port of Antium, where there was a temple dedicated to Æsculapius. The snake had hitherto confined himself to Ogulnius's cabin; but here he escaped, and gliding along came to the court of the sanctuary where he was worshipped. This place was

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCCLXII  
Bef. J. C.  
Two hun-  
dred ninety.

161st Con-  
sulship.

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCCLXII  
Bef. J. C.  
Two hun-  
dred ninety.

161st Con-  
sulship.

to the temple at Epidaurus, arrived at Rome, to the great joy of the people; and the plague is said to have soon after ceased.

planted with myrtles and palm-trees, and the pretended Æsculapius got upon the largest of those trees, and twisted his long body round it. For three days it was much feared that the divine animal would continue there; all endeavours to bring him back to the ship proved vain. It availed nothing to offer him his usual food; he continued three days twisted round the palm-tree. But at length he returned to the galley of his own accord. Antium was at no very great distance from the mouth of the Tiber; and up that river the snake was carried to Rome. The joy the Romans showed at the arrival of this salutary god is not to be expressed. Altars were erected all along the shore; and incense and sacrifices offered even to profuseness. While the citizens expected soon to receive the god within their walls, and were thinking to build him a temple there, he is said to have chosen his own abode. In the midst of the Tiber, over against the walls of Rome, was an island, formed in the infancy of the republic, by straw, trunks of trees, sand, and the rubbish of the city; and thither the serpent retired, swimming gently through the water. From that time it was called the island of Æsculapius; and a temple was soon erected to him there, and enriched with numberless presents. The temple was built in the shape of a ship; the higher part of it resembled the stern, and the lower part the prow. But whatever the historians say of it, it is very uncertain whether the plague was not stopped before the serpent arrived; and if we believe Pliny, who gave no credit to vulgar traditions, the Romans themselves would not suffer this Æsculapius, who had been brought from beyond sea, to be placed within their walls. He says, they had an aversion to physicians and their art, and despised even Æsculapius himself, the prince and head of physicians. Nevertheless, the temple of this god of health was very much frequented by the commonalty of Rome; the sick came and passed the night in it; and imagination, or the strength of nature, sometimes wrought cures there, which were ascribed to the power of the god, C. & R.



History says nothing of any exploits of Brutus in Hetruria. But young Fabius, who had been continued in the command of the army in Samnium in quality of proconsul, being assisted by his father, (who governed and directed all his motions, without letting him perceive it) had already reduced the canton of the Pentrini, and was besieging Cominium (an important town, formerly taken and burnt by Carvilius, but since rebuilt by the Samnites) when Posthumius prepared to enter Samnium with a new consular army. Before he left Rome, he employed a detachment of his troops in the servile work of grubbing up a forest in his own estate; and he proceeded in the same spirit of tyranny when he came into the field. He sent orders to the proconsul to desist from the siege of Cominium, and to leave that enterprise to his conduct. Young Fabius had received his commission from the senate; and the fathers supported his pretensions, and commanded the consul to bend his forces another way; but Posthumius bid the messenger tell the senate, "that it was their duty to obey their consul, and not his to submit to their commands." He then marched straight towards Cominium, resolving to give the Fabii battle, if they did not yield to his will. Fabius Maximus prevailed with his son, for the sake of the public good, to give way to the imperious consul. And then Posthumius having a clear stage, and being a man of courage and expedition, soon made himself master of Cominium. Thence

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCCCLXII  
Bef. J. C.  
Two hundred ninety.

161st Consulship.

Dio Cocceianus in excerptis à Valesio.

Livy, Epit. 11.  
D. Hal. in excerptis à Valesio.

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCCLXII  
Bef. J. C.  
Two hun-  
dred ninety.  
161st Con-  
sulship.

he turned his arms against Venusia, which he likewise took in a short time. In the letter which he wrote to the senate to inform them of his success, he proposed that a colony might be sent to the last mentioned place, and his proposal was approved; but the fathers, who preferred obedience to valour, took occasion from it to humble him. Instead of appointing him, agreeable to custom, to be one of the founders of the new colony in the city he had conquered, they named three others, and allowed him no share in that honour; nay, to mortify him yet more, they decreed young Fabius a triumph. Pontius Herennius, that famous Samnite general who surprised the Roman legions in the Caudine Forks, and made them pass under the yoke, now followed the chariot of the triumphant conqueror. (He was afterwards, by an inhumanity unworthy of Romans, condemned to lose his head.) But the most surprising sight of all was old Fabius on horseback in his son's train. He had formerly in his own triumphs carried his son in the chariot with him; and he was now overjoyed to mingle in the crowd, and make one of his attendants.

Plut. in  
Fab. Cunct.  
Val. Max.  
B. 5. c.

As for Posthumius, when he found himself treated with so much contempt, and his rival so much honoured, he not only declaimed with passion against both senate and people, but did all that was in his power to revenge himself. He would not give the least part of the booty brought from the two conquered cities

into the public treasury, but distributed it all among his soldiers; and then disbanded them before his successor could arrive. Some historians say, that notwithstanding these extravagant proceedings, and the opposition of the senate, he obtained a triumph by a decree of the people; but this is highly improbable; since it appears, by what followed soon after, that the people were no less exasperated against him than the fathers. For the succeeding consuls, P. Cornelius Rufinus and Manius Curius Dentatus, were no sooner entered upon office, than he was brought to a trial before the *comitia* by tribes. His chief accusation turned upon his having employed his soldiers in a slavish work for his own private profit; a crime which touched the people much more than his disobedience to the senate. They condemned him to pay a considerable fine; and his reputation continued for some time blasted.

IV. THE Samnites having lost their brave general and able governor, Pontius, were no longer in a condition to oppose the progress of the Roman arms. Curius Dentatus laid waste their country, took their towns, and, in short, obliged them to sue for peace. The republic consented to a treaty of alliance with them for the fourth time, and left the conditions of it to Curius<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> It is uncertain what sort of government was in use among the Samnites; but it is most probable that they were divided into cantons, and annually assembled a diet, where resolutions were taken for the public good. In

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCCXLII  
Bef. J. C.  
Two hundred ninety.  
161st Consulship.  
D. Hal. in excerptis à Valesio.

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCCXLIII  
Bef. J. C.  
Two hundred eighty-nine.

162d Consulship.  
Liv. Epit.  
11.  
Eutrop. B.  
2.

Nico. Damas, in excerptis à Valesio.



Year of  
R O M E  
ccccxiii.  
Bef. J. C.  
Two hun-  
dred eighty-  
nine.

162d Con-  
sulship.  
Plutarch in  
Apoph.  
Val. Max.  
B. 4. c. 3.  
Plin. B. 19.  
c. 6.

This consul was remarkable for living, without ostentation, in that voluntary poverty, which some philosophers have with great vanity cried up and recommended. The Samnite deputies found him sitting on a sorry wooden seat near a fire, dressing his own dinner, which consisted only of some roots ; and they offered him a present of a considerable sum of money. Curius expressed his indignation by a disdainful smile. " Without doubt," said he, " my indigence makes you hope that you may corrupt me : but you are mistaken. I had rather be the commander of rich men, than be rich myself. Take away that metal, which men make use of only to their destruction, and go tell your nation, that they will find it as difficult to bribe me, as to conquer me." A treaty being concluded upon such conditions as Curius thought fit to prescribe, he returned to Rome to triumph. And never did the people express more joy than upon this occasion, being at length freed from the care and burden of a dangerous war, which had lasted forty-nine years. The conqueror, in the distribution of the conquered lands among those Romans who had none of their own, prevailed to have no more than seven acres allotted to each man, and accepted no more himself, though a much

time of war they chose a head, who was invested with sovereign authority. It is said, that the Samnites had one very singular custom in relation to marriages. Every year, all the marriageable young men and women were assembled before certain judges, who matched them according to their merit. C. & R.

larger portion was offered him. He said, that, to preserve the Roman frugality, it were to be wished that no man had more land than was necessary for his subsistence.

V. THE conquest of Samnium was followed by the reduction of the Sabines to a state of subjection, who had been almost ever since the foundation of Rome upon the foot of allies, and had been governed by their own laws. They had feared that the ruin of the Samnites would affect their own liberty, and had therefore not only lent them assistance, but had ravaged a part of the Roman territory. Curius entirely subdued them; but the Romans, in regard to old friendship, treated them gently, and admitted them to Roman citizenship, yet without the right of suffrage. For the conquest of Sabinia, Curius had a second triumph decreed him the same year; an honour which had never been granted to any of his predecessors in the consulate.

The eminent virtues of this philosophical hero did not secure him from envy: there were not wanting those to whom his reputation of disinterestedness gave offence, and they endeavoured to cast a stain upon it. They accused him of having applied a part of the booty taken from the enemy to his private use. The accusation being general, he was put to his oath; and then he confessed, that he had reserved a little wooden oil-vessel for making libations to the gods, but protested that he had kept nothing more: he was believed; and the malice

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCCLXIII.  
Bef. J. C.  
Two hundred eighty-nine.

162d Consulship.

Author de Viris Illust. c. 33.  
Plutarch in Apoph. Florus, B. 1. c. 15.  
Liv. Epit. 11.

Author de Viris Illust. c. 33.

Year of  
R O M E  
cccclxiii.  
Bef. J. C.  
Two hun-  
dred eighty-  
nine.

162d Con-  
sulship.

Plin. B. 34.  
c. 6.

Year of  
R O M E  
ccccxiv.  
Bef. J. C.  
Two hun-  
dred eighty-  
eight.

163d Con-  
sulship.

Liv. Epit.  
11.

Festus and  
Pomponius  
de Origine  
juris.

of his accusers served only to heighten the lustre of his virtue. Before the expiration of his consulship, he led an army against the Lucanians, and obliged them to raise the siege of Thurium, the inhabitants of which had implored the protection of the Romans, and had gained Ælius (one of the tribunes) to be their friend. This town was situated near the gulf of Tarentum.

VI. THE same *comitia* which chose M. Valerius Corvinus and Q. Cædicius Noctua to be consuls for the new year, appointed Curius Dentatus to carry on the war in Lucania in quality of proconsul. His expedition proved successful: and he thereby established the Roman domination through almost the whole extent of the country that reaches from the Adriatic to the Tyrrhenian and Sicilian seas. The new consuls employed their year altogether in works of peace, and in sending out colonies; particularly to Adria, a maritime town, which some say gave name to the Adriatic sea; Castrium in Picenum, and Sena, another city on the Adriatic, at the mouth of the Seno, in the country of the Senones.

At this time the Romans, finding that the prætor alone was not sufficient to preserve good order in the city in a time of peace, when malefactors always multiply, the people appointed three new judges to try delinquents, and pronounce sentence without appeal: but their power of punishing extended only to pecuniary fines; the people would not divest themselves of the sole power of life and death.



These new magistrates were chosen annually in the *comitia* by tribes. The number of Roman citizens fit to bear arms appeared, by a census taken this year, to be two hundred and seventy-three thousand.

And now, when all was quiet abroad, new disturbances were raised at home, and the poor debtors began again to murmur against the rich usurers. This spark of dissension was blown up into a flame in the consulship of Q. Marcius Tremulus \* and P. Cornelius Arvina †, on the following occasion. T. Veturius, one of those unfortunate consuls who in the year of Rome 432 had been surprised in the Caudine Forks, died insolvent. His son, a youth of great beauty, and virtuously educated, borrowed a considerable sum of C. Plotius, his father's chief creditor, to defray the expense of his father's funeral. Being afterwards pressed to pay, and having neither money nor credit, he was forced to submit to slavery, and to work for his creditor in order to discharge the debt. Plotius conceived a detestable passion for the young man, and treated him unmercifully for his virtuous resistance. Veturius one day, when his body was all bloody with stripes, made his escape out of the house, got upon an eminence, showed himself to the people, and published the infamy of his tyrant. The people laid hold on the occasion to decry the usurers, and to demand the abolition of the law which subjected those to slavery who could not pay. This law had been repealed before upon a like

Year of  
R O M E  
cccclxiv.  
Bef. J. C.  
Two hundred eighty-eight.

163d Consulship.  
Liv. Epit.  
11.  
Zonar.  
Annal. B. 8.

Year of  
R O M E  
cccclxv.  
Bef. J. C.  
Two hundred eighty-seven.

164th Consulship.  
\* A second time.  
† A second time.  
D. Hal. in excerptis à Valesio.  
Val. Max.  
B. 6. c. 1.

Year of  
R O M E  
ccccxvi.  
Bef. J. C.  
Two hun-  
dred eighty-  
six.

165th Con-  
sulship.

Liv. Epit.

li.

S. Aug. de

Civitate

Dei, B. 3.

Cic. in  
Orat. pro  
Planc.  
Livy, B. 8.  
c. 12.  
Varro apud  
Nonum.  
Macrob.  
Sat. l. c. 16.

occasion in the year 427, but the patricians had got it renewed. As for Plotius, he was cited by the tribunes of the people before the centuries, and condemned to death.

In the following<sup>1</sup> consulship of M. Claudius Marcellus and C. Nautius Rutilus, the people kept no longer any measures with the patricians. They insisted upon the abolition of the law before mentioned, and finding the rich obstinate in opposing it, they made a secession upon the hill Janiculus, on the other side of the Tiber. The city being thus left destitute of artificers and labourers, and no provisions being brought thither from the provinces, (for the country people had likewise their complaints) the patricians and rich citizens found themselves under a necessity of making concessions, and they named Q. Hortensius dictator, to negotiate with the separatists. The terms of reconciliation were the repeal, (doubtless of the law in question) and the strict observance of two laws, made in the year 414, but to which the nobility had paid no regard. 1. That the *plebescita* [the decrees made by the commons at the request of their tribunes] should be observed by the patricians as well as plebeians. 2. That laws should first pass the senate, and be brought afterwards to the *comitia* to be there approved or rejected, and not *vice versa*. The complaint of the country people was, “ that they could not get their causes heard by the judges on market-days when they came to Rome, but were obliged to leave their

work, and return thither again." This was rectified. But when these several articles of reconciliation were drawn up, and the storm began to be appeased, Hortensius died of a sudden before the expiration of his dictatorship. It being necessary therefore to create another dictator, to complete what he had begun, the consuls nominated the illustrious Fabius, who now, in an extreme old age, was president or prince of the senate. He happily finished the accommodation; and this was the last public scene in which he appeared. He died soon after. The republic had considered him in his lifetime as a prodigy of Roman valour, prudence, and virtue; and now upon his death the people contributed to the expense of his obsequies with so much emulation, that his son, with the victims offered at his funeral, gave a public entertainment to the whole city.

Fabius, while dictator, had (probably) presided in the *comitia*, when M. Valerius Potitus and C. Ælius Pætus were chosen consuls. Their year proved barren of remarkable events; but the republic was never more happy than under their administration. The people having gained the highest pitch of their desires, thought only of enjoying the sweets of tranquillity. The balance of power leaned now rather to their side; and the patricians had no advantage over them, but in the great riches they had acquired, while they kept the ascendant, and in that respect which naturally is paid to persons of high birth.

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCCXLVII.  
Bef. J. C.  
Two hundred eighty-six.

165th Consulship.

Fragmen-  
tum Fast.  
Capit.

Auth. de  
Viris Illust.  
c. 32.

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCCXLVII.  
Bef. J. C.  
Two hundred eighty-five.

166th Consulship.



## CHAP. XXV.

- I. *The Tarentines endeavour privately to stir up both old and new enemies against Rome. The Gauls, called Senones, give the Roman army a terrible overthrow. Currius Dentatus revenges this defeat.* II. *The next year the Romans vanquish in battle the Senones, the Boii, and the Hetrurians. The Samnites revolt. The year following, almost all Italy rises in arms against the republic. Fabricius defeats the confederate forces of the Lucanians, Bruttians, and Samnites.* III. *The Tarentines fall in an hostile manner upon a Roman fleet, which chances to come into their port. The Romans send to demand satisfaction. The Tarentines insult the ambassadors, and then turn their thoughts to an alliance with Pyrrhus king of Epirus. [A short account of this prince, and the state of his affairs at this time.]* IV. *The senate and people of Rome decree a war against the Tarentines. An army marches directly for Tarentum. The mad and ridiculous behaviour of the citizens on its approach. They resolve to invite Pyrrhus to their assistance.* V. *Pyrrhus accepts the invitation, and sends before him to Tarentum the famous Cineas, his prime minister.*

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCCXLVII.  
Bef. J. C.  
Two hun-  
dred eighty-  
five.

166th Con-  
sulship.

I. ROME was now not only in perfect tranquillity at home, but in a flourishing condition with respect to her affairs abroad. The Latines, Sabines, Hernici, Æqui, Marsi, and Campanians were all brought into subjection to her. The Volsci were no more a people. The terror of the Roman arms reached to Apulia, and kept it in awe. A part of Lucania on one hand, and on the other Umbria and Picenum, quite up to the frontiers of the Senones, were all either obedient to the Romans, or awed by Roman colonies near them. On the other side

of the Tiber one part of Hetruria was subdued, and that which was more distant observed the truce which had been granted it. Samnium, in all appearance, was quieted; and the Gauls, both Senones and Boii, lived in peace with the republic, always ready however to fight for those who would employ them. Such was the state of Rome, when C. Claudius Canina and M. Æmilius Lepidus entered upon the consulship. Nothing memorable happened during their administration; and the fasces were transmitted to C. Servilius Tucca and L. Cæcilius Metellus. In their year the Tarentines (formerly a colony of austere Spartans, but now sunk into idleness and vice) growing jealous of the prosperity of the Romans, and fearing an interruption in their pleasures, as much as the loss of their liberty, employed all their Grecian subtlety to stir up both old and new enemies against the republic; and this without appearing to be concerned.

At the same time the Senones prepared to besiege Aretium, a city of Hetruria, about forty leagues from Rome, not far from the river Arno, and which was in truce with the republic. The Romans, at the request of the Aretini, raised an army to defend them; but before any act of hostility, they sent a deputation to the Senones, to persuade them to desist from their design. These proud Gauls, instead of listening to the mediation of the Romans, killed the ambassadors, and then immediately brought their troops before Aretium. The consul Cæ-

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCCLXVII.  
Bef. J. C.  
Two hundred eighty-five.

166th Consulship.

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCCLXVIII  
Bef. J. C.  
Two hundred eighty-four.

167th Consulship.

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCCLXIX.  
Bef. J. C.  
Two hundred eighty-three.

168th Consulship.  
Zonaras,  
B. 8.

Polyb. B. 2.  
c. 19.

Appian.  
apud Fulv.  
Ursinum.  
Liv. Epi.  
12.  
Oros. B. 3.  
c. 20.

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCLXIX.  
Bef. J. C.  
Two hun-  
dred eighty-  
three.

168th Con-  
sulship.  
Polyb. B. 2.  
c. 19.

Dion. apud  
Fulv. Ursi-  
num.

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCLXX.  
Bef. J. C.  
Two hun-  
dred eighty-  
two.

169th Con-  
sulship.

Appian.  
apud Fulv.  
Ursinum.  
Polyb. B. 2.  
c. 20.

cilius hastened to the relief of the place, and came to an engagement with the enemy, in which he himself was killed, with seven legionary tribunes, many of the nobles, and thirteen thousand private men. Upon the news of this terrible defeat, Curius Dentatus (probably prætor at this time) was despatched from Rome, at the head of some new levies, to supply the consul's place. But this able and experienced commander, instead of attacking the army of the Gauls, flushed with success, or of attempting to succour Aretium, marched along the confines of Hetruria, and entered the enemies country, where he took ample vengeance for the murder of the Roman ambassadors. With fire and sword he laid waste and destroyed all before him, so that in a little time he reduced it to a vast desert, in which there scarce remained any appearances of its having been cultivated or inhabited; all the men that were found were put to the sword, and the women and children carried into slavery.

II. IN the meantime, and in the beginning of the administration of P. Cornelius Dolabella and Cn. Domitius, the republic began to feel the effects of the secret negotiations of the Tarentines. The Boii, Hetrurians, and Samnites all declared against her at once, and she had already the army of the Senones before Aretium to deal with. These Gauls, to revenge the devastation made in their country, left the siege of that town, and were advancing straight to Rome, when Domitius met them in



Hetruria, and gave them a total overthrow with great slaughter. After this Cornelius came to a pitched battle with the united Hetrurians and Boii; the troops of the former were almost all slain, and those of the latter, who escaped, being vanquished a second time, sued for peace. As for the Senones, they were so utterly destroyed, that there scarce remained any foot-steps of them in Italy.

In the following consulship of C. Fabricius and Q. Æmilius Papus, almost all Italy, through the secret intrigues of the Tarentines, rose up in arms against the robbers, as the Romans were then called. On one side the remains of the Hetrurians and Boii, on the other the Lucanians and Bruttians, in conjunction with the Samnites, all conspired together for the destruction of the imperious republic. It fell to Æmilius to carry on the war in Hetruria, and to Fabricius to command in Lucania. The latter marched to the relief of Thurium, a city on the gulf of Tarentum, and besieged by the Lucanians, Bruttians, and Samnites. He defeated this confederate army, but found it a difficult enterprise to force their camp. The means by which he succeeded in it, and which had something of the air of a miracle, was probably a stratagem of his own contriving. Whilst he seemed to be in suspense what measures to take, a young man full of strength and vigour, wearing feathers in his helmet, appeared on a sudden in the midst of the legions, exhorted them to decline no danger for the honour of their

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCCCLXX.  
Bef. J. C.  
Two hundred eighty-two.

169th Consulship.

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCCCLXXI.  
Bef. J. C.  
Two hundred eighty-one.

170th Consulship.

Pliny, B.  
34. c. 6.  
Ammian.  
Mar. B. 24.  
c. 15.  
Val. Max.  
B. 1. c. 8.

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCCCLXX.  
Bef. J. C.  
Two hun-  
dred eighty-  
one.

170th Con-  
sulship.

Flor. B. 1.

c. 18.

Oros. B. 4.  
c. 1.

country, and then seizing a ladder, advanced to the rampart through a shower of darts, planted his ladder against it, and mounted the wall. This bold action intimidated the confederates, and inspired the Romans with such intrepidity, that they soon made themselves masters of the camp. Twenty-five thousand of the enemy, with their general Statilius, were slain. After the victory, the consul ordered the young man who had first mounted the rampart to be sought for, in order to reward him; and because he was not to be found, the Romans presently imagined, that it was the god Mars himself, and returned him solemn thanks for his assistance, by public supplications.

III. As for the Tarentines, the real authors of this war, they had not yet openly declared against Rome. An accident at length made them throw off the mask. Valerius, one of the maritime duumvirs, or admirals of the Roman fleet, happened to come with ten ships to the mouth of their port, while they were celebrating their games in the theatre, which looked towards the harbour. The sudden appearance of the Roman ships interrupted their diversions; the Tarentines imagining that the Romans were come with hostile intentions, they all with one consent ran down to the port, fell upon the fleet with the fury of mad men, sunk one ship, and took four, the other five escaping. All the prisoners fit to bear arms were put to the sword, and the rest sold to the best bidder. Upon the news of this unexpected insult, the republic

D. Hal. in  
Legat.

sent a deputation to Tarentum to demand satisfaction. Posthumius Megellus, who had been thrice consul, was at the head of the embassy. He was admitted to an audience in the theatre, where he harangued the assembly in Greek. The Tarentines, heated with wine, instead of listening to his discourse with that seriousness which the importance of the matter required, burst into loud laughter, or hissed him, whenever he hesitated, was incorrect in his expression, or even pronounced a word with a foreign accent; but when he began to speak of reparation of wrongs, they flew into rage, called him barbarian, and, in a manner, drove him out of the assembly. Nor was this all: as he was walking off with an air of gravity and dignity, a buffoon named Philonides coming up to him, urined upon his robe; a new source of immoderate laughter to the mad and drunken multitude; some of them even clapped their hands for extreme joy at the outrageous insolence. Posthumius turning about to the assembly, only showed them the skirt of his garment so defiled: but when he found that this had no effect, but to increase the loudness of their contumelious mirth, "Laugh on, TARENTINES, laugh on, now while you may. The time is coming, when you will weep: yes, TARENTINES, you will long weep. It is not a little blood that must wash and purify this garment." Having thus spoken, he straight withdrew, left the city, and embarked for Rome.

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCLXXI.  
Bef. J. C.  
Two hundred eighty-one.

170th Consulship.

When the Tarentines came to themselves,



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R. O. M. E.  
CCCCCLXXI.  
Bef. J. C.  
Two hun-  
dred eighty-  
one.

170th Con-  
sulship.

Plut. Life of  
Pyrrhus, p.  
383, et seq.

and began to reflect on the enormity of their conduct, never to be forgiven, and at the same time on the inability of their neighbours in Italy to defend them, they concluded it absolutely necessary to look for succours from beyond sea; and they cast their eyes on Pyrrhus, king of Epirus, who, for personal bravery and martial skill, was renowned above all the Grecian commanders of that time.

This prince was descended from Achilles, by his son Neoptolemus (or Pyrrhus) who conquered Epirus, reigned there himself, and left the throne to his posterity. Being yet an infant at the breast, when his father Æacides was dethroned by his subjects, he was conveyed though variety of dangers into Illyricum, where Glaucias, the king of that country, took care of him, and educated him with his own children. When Pyrrhus had attained to twelve years of age, Glaucias, at the head of a great army, entered Epirus, and placed him on the throne of his ancestors; but when he was seventeen years old, the Epirots rebelling again, drove him from his kingdom, and forced him to seek refuge in the dominions of Demetrius, the husband of his sister Deidamia. Demetrius was then master of Greece and a great part of Asia. Pyrrhus served under him in his wars against Ptolemy king of Ægypt, and gained great applause by his courage and conduct at the famous battle of Ipsus, in Phrygia, where so many kings were present; and when a peace was made between Demetrius and Pto-

lomy, Pyrrhus was sent to Ægypt, as one of the hostages to secure the performance of the treaty. Here he behaved himself with so much prudence and address, as to gain universal esteem and admiration; and he made his court so successfully to Berenice, the favourite queen, that she gave him in marriage Antigone, her daughter by a former husband. Having by this alliance engaged Ptolomy to assist him with money and troops, he recovered his own kingdom; after which, he made himself master of Macedon; but being dispossessed of it again by Lysimachus, retired into Epirus, and was at this time in peace with all the neighbouring states. However, as he naturally loved action, and the bustle and hurry of war, the ambassadors whom the Tarentines sent to him (perhaps only to try his pulse, and observe the state of his affairs) found him in a disposition to hearken to any proposals, which would furnish him with employment worthy of his ambition.

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R O M E  
CCCCLXXI.  
Bef. J. C.  
Two hundred eighty-one.

170th Consulship.

IV. THE Tarentines, to amuse the Romans till it could be known what might be expected from Pyrrhus, besieged Thurium, defended by a Roman garrison, and took it. This news came to Rome soon after the return of Posthumius, and the other ambassadors who had been so ill treated at Tarentum. The republic had just raised L. Æmilius Barbula and Q. Marcius Phillippus to the consulate. These magistrates having assembled the conscript fathers, represented to them on one hand the shameful indignity offered to their ambassadors,

Appian.

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R O M E  
CCCLXXII,  
Bef. J. C.  
Two hundred eighty.  
171st Consulship.

Year of  
R O M E  
ccccclxxii.  
Bef. J. C.  
Two hun-  
dred eighty.

171st Con-  
sulship.  
D. Hal. in  
Legation.

Zon. B. 8.

which required vengeance, and, on the other, the danger of engaging in a new war, when the republic had already so many enemies to contend with: for the Heturians and Samnites were still in arms, and the Lucanians and Brutians grown more confident, since the taking of Thurium. To the necessity of chastising the Tarentines, the hostilities they had committed against the republic, and the insult they had offered to Posthumius, whose robe was produced in the assembly, left no room for deliberation upon that point; the only question was concerning the proper time; and this the fathers debated from sun-rising to sun-set for several days together, being divided in opinion. Some were for deferring the war with the Tarentines, till the intermediate provinces should be subdued; others for beginning it immediately. The question being put to the vote, the latter opinion prevailed by a majority of voices; and the senate's decree was confirmed by the people. Hereupon, Æmilius, who had intended to make the campaign in Samnium, received orders to lay aside that expedition, and march directly to Tarentum.

The approach of the Romans made the Tarentines carry on their deliberations with a little more seriousness than formerly; and when the consul sent once again to demand satisfaction, before he began hostilities, the oldest and richest declared for peace: but the populace, who had little to lose, insisted upon a war; and what put an end to the debate was a speech of



one of the common citizens, who renewed the proposal of bringing Pyrrhus into Italy, a motion highly applauded by the multitude. The wiser part of the citizens finding themselves overborne by numbers came no more to the assemblies. Only, the day that a public decree was to pass for inviting Pyrrhus to Tarentum, and when the people were all placed in the theatre, one Meton, a sober worthy citizen, with a withered garland on his head, and a flambeau in his hand, (as was the manner of drunken debauchees) and accompanied by a woman playing on a flute, came dancing into the midst of the assembly. This silly sight was sufficient to divert the Tarentines from their most important deliberations. They made a ring, and called out to Meton to sing, and to the woman to play; but when, expecting to be entertained with a song, they were all silent, Meton assuming an air of great seriousness, “ You do well, Tarentines, not to hinder those from diverting themselves who are disposed to mirth; and if you are wise you will yourselves make advantage of the present liberty you enjoy to do the same. When Pyrrhus comes, you must change your way of life; your mirth and joy will be at an end.” These words made an impression upon the multitude, and a murmur went about, that he had spoken well: but those who had some reason to fear that they should be delivered up to the Romans in case of an accommodation, being enraged at what he had said, reviled the assembly for suffering them-

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CCCCCLXXII.  
Bef. J. C.  
Two hundred eighty.

171st Consulship.

Diod. in Eclog.

Plut. Life of Pyrrhus, p. 390.

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R O M E  
CCCLXXII.  
Bef. J. C.  
Two hun-  
dred eighty.

171st Con-  
sulship.

selves to be so mocked and affronted, and crowding together, they thrust Meton out of the theatre. After this the decree was passed, and ambassadors were sent into Epirus, not only from the Tarentines, but from all the Italic Greeks, with magnificent presents for the king, and with instructions to say, that they only wanted a general of fame and experience; that as for troops, they could themselves furnish a numerous army, 20,000 horse, and 350,000 foot, Lucanians, Messapians, Samnites, and Tarentines.

Oros. B. 4.  
c. 1.  
Zon. B. 8.

As soon as the news came to the Roman camp, that a deputation to Pyrrhus was decreed, Æmilius straight began hostilities, burnt and destroyed all before him, and forced the Tarentines in the field to take refuge within their walls. However, not to drive them to despair, and to induce them to lay aside the design of receiving Pyrrhus, he used some moderation, and sent back the prisoners he had taken. These highly extolled the generosity of the consul; insomuch, that many of the inhabitants were brought over to the Roman party; and they all in general began to repent of their rejecting a peace, and sending for Pyrrhus. This was evident by their choosing Agis, a friend of the Romans, to be their general, and the governor of the city.

V. IN the meanwhile the Tarentine ambassadors, pursuant to the powers they had received, made an absolute treaty with the king of Epirus. He was very ready to accept the invitation into Italy, his head being turned

with the exploits of Alexander the Great in the east, which he thought to imitate by mighty conquests in the west.

There was then at the court of Epirus a Thessalian, named Cyneas, a man of sound understanding, and who had been a disciple of Demosthenes. He was thought to approach nearer than any other orator of this time to the vehement and forcible eloquence of that great master. Pyrrhus usually employed him, as his ambassador to those cities with whom he had any affair to transact, and the able minister succeeded so well in these negotiations, that the king was wont to say, "He had made more conquests by the tongue of Cyneas, than by his own sword." And for this reason he not only held him in the highest esteem, but loaded him with honours, making him his chief minister and favourite.

Cyneas perceiving that Pyrrhus was eagerly bent to pass into Italy, and finding him one day at leisure, and in a humour for free conversation, thus began: "The ROMANS, sir, are reported to be great warriors, and to rule over many brave and warlike nations. Should God grant us, nevertheless, to vanquish them, what use shall we make of our victory?"—"The thing speaks of itself," answered Pyrrhus; "the Romans once conquered, there is no city, Barbarian or Greek, in Italy, that will dare to resist us. We shall be immediately masters of that whole country; whose extent, wealth, and power, nobody is better apprized of than yourself."—Cyneas, (after a short silence)

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B. f. J. C.  
Two hundred eighty.

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Plut. Life of  
Pyrrhus, p.  
391.



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Bel. J. C.  
Two hun-  
dred eighty.  
171st Con-  
sulship.

“ And when we have conquered Italy, what are we to do next?” Pyrrhus (not yet perceiving his drift) “ Next? Why, there is Sicily just by. She opens her arms to receive us, a rich and populous island, and easily subdued; for, since the death of Agathocles, the cities are all in confusion and anarchy.”—“ What you say,” replied Cyneas, “ seems very probable indeed. But is the conquest of Sicily to put an end to our expeditions?”—“ No, certainly,” cried the king; “ these successes will be only preludes to greater enterprises. Who, in such a case, could forbear passing into Afric, and to Carthage? It is but a step thither. And when we have subdued these, what think you? Will any of those enemies, who now give us uneasiness, have once the boldness to withstand our arms? We shall then easily recover Macedon, and not only so, but in a little time be masters of all Greece.”—“ Very true,” said Cyneas, “ nothing can be clearer: but when we have completed all these conquests, what shall we do then?” Pyrrhus, smiling, “ Do then? why, then we’ll live at our ease, my good friend, and drink, and feast, and spend our days in agreeable conversation.”—“ Ah, sir,” replied the philosopher, “ what hinders you from immediately possessing that happiness which you propose to purchase at the expense of so much danger<sup>1</sup>?”

<sup>1</sup> Monsieur Paschal, in his discourse of the “ Misery of Man,” has a much admired reflection on this advice of CYNEAS to PYRRHUS.

These words rather vexed the king, than diverted him from his design ; for he could not part with the pleasing hopes he had entertained.

“ There is nothing more capable of letting us into the knowledge of human misery, than an inquiry after the real cause of that perpetual hurry and confusion in which we pass our lives.

“ The soul is sent into the body to be the sojourner of a few days. She knows that this is but a stop till she may embark for eternity ; and that a small space is allowed her to prepare for the voyage. The main part of this space is ravished from her by the necessities of nature ; and but a slender pittance left to her own disposal : and yet this moment which remains does so strangely oppress and perplex her, that she only studies how to lose it : she feels an intolerable burden, in being obliged to live with herself, and think of herself ; and, therefore, her principal care is to forget herself ; and to let this short and precious moment pass away without reflection, by amusing herself with things which prevent her notice of its speed.

“ This is the ground of all the tumultuary business, of all the trifling diversions amongst men ; in which our general aim is to make the time pass off our hands without feeling it, or rather without feeling ourselves ; and, by getting rid of this small portion of life, to avoid that inward disgust and bitterness, which we should not fail to meet with, if we found leisure to descend into our own breasts. For it is undeniably certain, that the soul of man is here incapable of rest and satisfaction. And this obliges her to expand herself every way, and to seek how she may lose the thoughts of her own proper being in a settled application to the things about her. Her very happiness consists in this forgetfulness ; and to make her exquisitely miserable, nothing more is required but the engaging her to look into herself, and to dwell at home.”

“ We charge persons from their very infancy with the care of their own fortunes and honours, and no less of the estates and dignities belonging to their kindred and friends. We burden them with the study of languages, of exercises, and of arts. We enter them in business, and persuade them that they can never be truly blessed, unless

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Two hun-  
dred eighty.

171st Con-  
sulship.

To conceal his design of making himself master of Tarentum, as well as of the rest of Italy, he artfully inserted a clause in the treaty

by their industry and caution they in some measure secure the interest and glory of themselves, their families, and their dependents; and that unavoidable unhappiness is entailed upon the failure of any one particular in this kind. Thus we teach them to wear out their strength, and to rob themselves of their rest. A strange method (you will say) of making them happy! What could be done with more effect towards the insuring them in misery? Would you know what? Why only to release them from these cares, and to take off these burdens. For then their eyes and their thoughts must be turned inward, and that is the only hardship which they esteem insupportable. Hence, if they gain any relaxation from their labours, we find them eager to throw it away upon some sport or diversion, which takes up their whole activity, and pleasantly robs them of themselves.

“It is for this reason, that when I have set myself to consider the various agitations of human life, the toil and danger to which we expose ourselves in the court, in the camp, in the pursuits of ambition, which give birth to so much passion and contention, to so many desperate and fatal adventures, I have often said that the universal cause of men’s misfortunes was their not being able to live quietly in a chamber. A person who has enough for the uses of this world, did he know the art of dwelling with himself, would never quit that repose and security for a voyage or a siege; nor would take so much pains to hazard his life, had he no other aim than barely to live.

“But upon stricter examination I found, that this aversion to home, this roving and restless disposition, proceeded from a cause, no less powerful than universal; from the native unhappiness of our frail and mortal state, which is incapable of all comfort, if we have nothing to divert our thoughts and to call us out of ourselves.

“I speak of those alone who survey their own nature, without the views of faith and religion. It is indeed one of the miracles of Christianity, that by reconciling man to God, it restores him to his own good opinion; that it



with his allies, "That when he had delivered them from their dangers, he should not be hindered from returning to Epirus." And to secure their fidelity, he detained some of their

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dred eighty.

makes him able to bear the sight of himself; and, in some cases, renders solitude and silence more agreeable than all the intercourse and action of mankind. Nor is it by fixing man in his own person, that it produceth these wonderful effects; it is by carrying him to God, and by supporting him under the sense of his miseries, with the hopes of an assured and complete deliverance in a better life.

171st Con-  
sulship.

"But for those who do not act above the principles of mere nature, it is impossible they should, without falling into an incurable chagrin and discontent, undergo the lingering torment of leisure. Man, who loves nothing but his own person, hates nothing so much as to be confined to his own conversation. He seeks nothing but himself, and yet flies and avoids nothing more than himself; because when he is obliged to look within, he does not see himself such as he could wish: discovering only a hidden store of inevitable miseries, and a mighty void of all real and solid good, which it is beyond his ability to replenish.

"Let a man choose his own condition, let him embellish it with all the goods and all the satisfactions he can possess or desire; yet, if in the midst of this glory and pride he is without business, and without diversion, and has time to contemplate on his fortunes, his spirits must unavoidably sink beneath the languishing felicity. He will of necessity torment himself with the prospect of what is to come; and he that boasted to have brought home all the ingredients of happiness, must again be sent abroad, or condemned to domestic misery."

"Is majesty itself so truly great and sufficient, as to support those whom it adorns and encircles, under the bare thought of their own grandeur? Is it necessary that this thought should be here likewise diverted, as in the common herd of men? A vulgar person will be abundantly happy, if he may ease himself of his secret troubles, by applying all his care to excel in the perfection of dancing. But dare we say this of a king? Or, will he be more charmed with so vain and petty amusements, than

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sulship.

Zonaras, B.  
8.  
Plut. Life  
of Pyrrhus:

ambassadors, under pretence of wanting their assistance. After these precautions, he sent away Cyneas with three thousand men to Ta-

with the contemplation of his royal dignity and estate? What nobler, what more sublime object than himself, to engage and to satisfy his spirit? Might it not seem an envious lessening of his content, to interrupt his princely thought, with the care of measuring his steps by an air of music, or of exactly ordering a ball, instead of leaving him to survey the glories of his throne, and to rejoice in the excellence of his power? Let us presume to make the experiment: let us suppose a prince in solitude, without any entertainment of sense, any engagement of mind, any relief of conversation; and we shall find that a prince with his eyes upon himself, is a man full of miseries, and who feels them with as quick and piercing a resentment as the lowest among his slaves. And, therefore, it has been a standing maxim, to banish these intruding and importunate reflections from court, and to keep about the royal person those who shall constantly purvey for the amusement of their master, by laying a train of divertisements to succeed after business, and by watching his hours of leisure, to pour in immediately a fresh supply of mirth and sport; that no vacancy may be left in life, that is, the court abounds with men, who have a wonderful activity in taking care that his majesty shall not be alone, well knowing that solitude is but another name for misery, and that the supreme pitch of worldly greatness is too nice and weak to bear the examination of a thought."

"Whence comes it to pass, that men are transported to such a degree with gaming, hunting, or other diversions, which seem to have taken an absolute possession of their souls? not because there is any real and intrinsic good to be obtained by these pursuits; not because they imagine that true happiness is to be found in the money which they win at play, or in the beast which they run down in the chase: for should you present them beforehand with both these, to save their trouble, they would be unanimous in rejecting the proposal. It is not the gentle and easy part which they are fond of, such as may give them leisure and space for thought; but it is the heat

rentum. This eloquent minister soon found means to depose Agis from the government, and to get possession of the citadel.

and the hurry, which divert them from the mortification of thinking."

"A man, that by gaming every day for some little stake, passeth away his life without uneasiness or melancholy, would yet be rendered unhappy, should you give him every morning the sum which he could possibly win all day, upon condition to forbear. It will be said, perhaps, that it is the amusement of the play which he seeks, and not the gain. Yet if he plays for nothing, his gaiety is over, and the spleen recovers full possession. Bare amusement, therefore, is not what he proposeth; a languishing amusement, without heat or passion, would but dispirit and fatigue him: he must be allowed to raise and chafe himself, by proposing a happiness in the gaining of that which he would despise, if given him not to venture, and by creating a fictitious object, which shall excite and employ his desire, his anger, his hope, and his fear."

"We have seen the utmost that human invention can do, in projecting for human happiness. Those who content themselves barely with demonstrating the vanity and littleness of common diversions, are indeed acquainted with one part of our miseries; for a considerable part it is to be thus capable of taking pleasure in things so base and insignificant. But they apprehend not the cause and principle which renders these miseries even necessary to us, so long as we remain uncured of that inward and natural infirmity of not being able to bear the sight of our own condition. The hare which men buy in the market cannot screen them from this view; but the field and the chase afford an approved relief. And therefore when we reproach them with their low and ignoble aim; and observe to them how little satisfaction there is in that which they follow with so much contention and ardour, did they answer upon mature judgment, they would acknowledge the equity of our censure, and would ingenuously declare, that they proposed nothing in these pursuits but the bare violence of the motion, such as might keep them strangers to the secrets of their soul; and that therefore they

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dred eighty.

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In the meantime Æmilius, the Roman consul, finding that there was no possibility of attempting any thing with success against Taren-

made choice of objects, which, how worthless soever in reality, were yet of an engaging and attractive nature, and able to engross the activity of all their powers. And the reason why they do not answer in this manner, is the want of this acquaintance with her own bosom. A gentleman believes with all sincerity that there is somewhat great and noble in hunting, and will be sure to tell you that it is a royal sport. You may hear the like defence and encomium of any other exercise or employment, which men affect or pursue. They imagine that there must needs be somewhat real and solid in the objects themselves. They are persuaded, that could they but gain such a point, they should then repose themselves with content and pleasure; and are under an insensibility of the insatiable nature of this desire. They believe themselves to be heartily engaged in the attainment of rest, while they are indeed employed in nothing else but the search of continual and successive drudgery.

“Men have a secret instinct, promoting them to seek employment or recreation; which proceeds from no other cause but the sense of their inward pain, and never-ceasing torment. They have another secret instinct, a relic of their primitive nature, which assures them, that the sum of their happiness consists in ease and repose. And upon these two opposite instincts they form one confused design, lurking in the recesses of their soul, which engages them to prosecute the latter by the intervention of the former, and constantly to persuade themselves, that the satisfaction they have hitherto wanted will infallibly attend them, if by surmounting certain difficulties, which they now look in the face, they may open a safe passage to peace and tranquillity.

“Thus our life runs out. We seek rest, by encountering such particular impediments, which, if we are able to remove, the consequence is, that the rest which we have obtained becomes itself a grievance. For we are ruminating every moment either on the miseries we feel, or on those we fear. And even when we seem on all sides

tum this campaign, resolved to march his army into winter quarters in Apulia. Being obliged to pass through certain defiles, straitened by the sea on one side, and high hills on the other, he was there attacked by the Epirots and Tarentines from great numbers of barks fraught with *balistæ*, (engines for throwing stones of a vast weight) and from the hills, which they had covered with archers and slingers; nevertheless by placing, between him and the enemy, his Tarentine prisoners, whom they were unwilling to hurt, he preserved his legions from suffering any considerable loss. Having quartered his troops, he himself repaired to Rome, where his colleague Marcius had a triumph for some conquests he had made in Hetruria.

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to be placed under shelter, the affections, which are so naturally rooted in us, fail not to regret their lost dominion, and to diffuse their melancholy poison through the soul."

"And therefore when Cyneas so gravely admonished Pyrrhus, who proposed to enjoy himself with his friends, after he should have conquered a good part of the world, that he would do much better to anticipate his own happiness, by taking immediate possession of this ease and quiet, without pursuing it through so much fatigue: the counsel he gave was indeed full of difficulty, and scarce more rational than the project of that young ambitious prince. Both the one and the other opinion supposed that which is false, that a man can rest satisfied with himself and his present possessions, without filling up the void space in his heart with imaginary expectations. Pyrrhus must inevitably have been unhappy, either without or with the conquest of the world; and perhaps that soft and peaceful life which his minister advised him to embrace was less capable of giving him satisfaction, than the heat and tumult of so many expeditions, and so many battles, which he was then forming and fighting in his mind." See Pensees de Paschal, c. 26. as translated by Mr. Basil Kennet.

## CHAP. XXVI.

I. *Pyrrhus, (whose character is given) being arrived at Tarentum, takes measures to turn the Tarentines from the pursuit of pleasures, to which they are entirely addicted. The villainous behaviour of a legion of Campanian soldiers, which had been sent by the Roman republic to garrison Rhegium, at the request of the inhabitants. II. Pyrrhus sends a letter to the consul Lævinus, requiring him to submit the quarrel between Rome and Tarentum to his arbitration. Lævinus, in answer, returns a defiance. The Romans force Pyrrhus to a battle. III. The king, though victorious, declines a second battle with Lævinus, and returns to Tarentum. IV. His conversation with Fabricius, sent from Rome to treat with him concerning the ransom of prisoners. The king sends Cyneas to Rome with proposals of peace. The senate, moved chiefly by a warm speech of Appius Claudius, (now blind) unanimously refuse to enter into any treaty of peace with the king while he continues in Italy.*

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sulship.  
Tab. Claud.  
Cæsar apud  
Lugdunen-  
ses.  
Oros. B. 4.  
c. 1.

I. THE consuls for the new year were P. Valerius Lævinus and Tib. Coruncanius, the latter not a Roman by birth, but raised to the consulate purely for his merit. He was of Cumerium, one of the Roman *municipia* in Latium. It fell to him by lot to carry on the war in Hetruria, and to his colleague to conduct that against the Tarentines. Æmilius was continued in the command of his own troops in quality of proconsul, and was ordered to march against the Salentines (in Iapygia) who had declared for the Tarentines. The present exigence of affairs obliged the Romans to inlist the Proletarii. These (as has been formerly observed) were the meanest of the people, and esteemed not capable of doing the state any



service, except that of peopling the city; hitherto they had never been suffered to bear arms: a wise part of Roman policy, to make it an ignominy to be excluded from serving their country in war.

Pyrrhus was now arrived at Tarentum, having narrowly escaped shipwreck. The Tarentines, soon after the arrival of Cyneas, had sent to the king a great number of galleys, flat-bottom vessels, and other transports, whereon to embark his forces; and he had sailed from Epirus with 20 elephants, 3000 horse, 20,000 heavy armed foot, 200 archers, and 500 slingers. When he was got out to sea, the wind rising suddenly at north, and blowing hard, he was driven out of his course. Nevertheless, by the great skill and diligence of the pilots and seamen, the king's ship bore with the land, and kept the Italian coast; but the rest of the fleet could not get up; some of the ships were driven into the Lybian and Sicilian seas; others, not being able to double the Cape of Iapygia, and a very boisterous sea throwing them in the night upon a rocky shore, they all suffered great damage. The Admiral, by her strength and bulk, resisted the violence of the weather; but the wind coming about, and blowing directly in her teeth from the shore, and the vessel keeping up her head against it, she was in danger of opening at every shock she sustained from the huge billows that broke over her. On the other hand, to be driven off again to sea in a raging tempest, and when the wind was continually

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Justin. B.  
18. c. 1.  
Zon. B. 8.  
Plut. Life of  
Pyrrhus,  
392.

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dred seven-  
ty nine.

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sulship.

shifting about, seemed the greatest of all evils. In this extremity, the vessel not being far from land, Pyrrhus without hesitation threw himself into the sea. His friends and guards instantly followed him, striving with emulation to assist and save him, which the darkness of the night, and the impetuosity of the waves, that were repelled with a roaring noise from the shore, made extremely difficult. However, by day-break, the wind being then quite laid, he got ashore, much fatigued and weakened in body, but with undaunted courage, and a strength of mind superior to the most adverse fortune. The Messapians, upon whose coast the king was cast, hastened to give him all the assistance in their power, and they also went out to meet and succour some of his vessels which were not far off, and in which were found a few horse, two elephants, and about 2000 foot. Pyrrhus having drawn these together, marched with them directly towards Tarentum. Cyneas, upon the news of the king's approach, led out his troops to meet him, and conducted him into the city, where he was received with the acclamations of the people.

Plut. in  
Pyrrh. p.  
337.

PYRRHUS (as we learn from Plutarch) had in his countenance a majesty that was rather terrible than august. In a day of battle he was thought to resemble Alexander in look, agility, impetuosity, and strength of arm. His consummate knowledge in the art of war appeared even from the books he wrote upon that subject. Antigonus being asked, "Who was the

greatest captain of that time?" answered, "PYRRHUS, if he lives to be old:" but Hannibal afterwards, speaking of great commanders in general, gave Pyrrhus the first place<sup>1</sup> in the whole list. War was indeed his only study, and the only science he thought worthy of a prince. Nevertheless he had a great share of humanity in his natural temper, was affable and familiar to his friends, not easily provoked to anger, and the most ardent of all men living to requite obligations. For which reason, when Æropus died, who had done him important services, he could not bear it with any moderation: "Not because his friend had paid the indispensable tribute to nature, (to die, he said, was common to all) but because he himself, by delays, had lost the opportunity of requiting the kindnesses he had received from him:" for, as PLUTARCH adds, though money-debts may be discharged by payment to the heirs of the creditor when he is dead, a debt of kindness can never be satisfied but by a return of kindness to the friend himself: and, if he dies unrequited, it will always be a pungent grief to the person obliged, if he have a good and honest heart.

His chief faults were boundless ambition, and a strange inconstancy in the pursuit of its objects. Fond of a new enterprise, he was always ready to quit it, how successfully soever begun, the moment that a newer presented itself to his imagination. Whatever, says

<sup>1</sup> Plutarch, in his Life of Flaminius, makes Hannibal give Alexander the first place, and Pyrrhus the second.

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In Pyrrh.  
p. 400.



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Plut. in  
Pyrrh. p.  
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PLUTARCH, he acquired by his exploits, he lost by his vain hopes; his impatience to pursue what he had not yet attained would not let him secure what he had already won; which made Antigonus compare him to a man at dice, who has admirable fortune, but plays ill.

While Pyrrhus was waiting for the arrival of his scattered forces, he observed the dispositions of the Tarentines, and was surprised to see how their minds were entirely bent to pleasures, in which they thought to indulge themselves, as usual, while he and his Epirots were to fight in their defence. To remedy this mischief, which must otherwise naturally end in the ruin of themselves and their defenders, he, as soon as his troops had joined him, shut up the public gardens and walks, where the inhabitants used to meet to talk of news and politics; he forbade public feasting, plays, and masquerades, and incorporated the best-bodied men of the people in his phalanxes. The effeminate Tarentines groaned under these wholesome regulations, in the execution of which the king was very rigorous. They found they had got a master instead of an ally; many of them, rather than endure such strict discipline, withdrew from the city, while others expressed their discontent by secret murmurs and loud complaints. Pyrrhus had his spies in the city, who insinuated themselves into all companies, and brought him an account of the discourses of the malcontents. One day some young debauchees, heated with wine, gave their tongues an un-

bounded liberty in talking against the king's measures. Pyrrhus being informed of it, ordered them to be brought before him: "Is it true," said he, "that you have uttered against me those outrageous things you are accused of?" "It is very true," answered one of them; and we should have said more, if our wine had not failed us." Pyrrhus smiled, and dismissed them.

But (if we may believe Zonaras) he was not so moderate with regard to some of the citizens, whose intrigues he suspected and feared; he caused the most factious of them to be despatched by private assassinations. To get rid of one Aristarchus, a great orator, and much in credit with the people, he commissioned him to go to his son in Epirus, on some business which he pretended to be of great importance. Aristarchus saw through the artifice; and, the master of the vessel in which he was to sail being at his devotion, instead of going to Greece, he steered to a port of Italy, and went thence to Rome. What advice he gave the Romans is uncertain: but Fabricius was despatched away to visit the colonies and allies of the republic. Nor was the precaution unnecessary at a time when a prince, so illustrious for his exploits in the east, undertook to deliver the Italians from the domination of the republic.

An extraordinary event, which had happened a little before, had also given the Romans much uneasiness, and brought a great discredit on them in their colonies and among their allies.

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Val. Max.  
B. 5. c. 1.

Zonaras,  
B. 8.

Dion. apud  
Fulv. Ursi-  
num.

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sulship.  
Polyb. B. 1.  
c. 7.  
Liv. Epit.  
11.

While Pyrrhus was coming to Tarentum, and the Carthaginians infested all the coasts of the Ionian sea, the inhabitants of Rhegium, situated in the southern extremity of Italy, near Sicily, applied to the republic for a Roman garrison to defend them from an invasion. A legion was raised in Campania for that purpose, and sent to them under the command of one Decius Junellus. These soldiers, who had been used to a laborious life, began soon to envy the inhabitants the pleasures and ease in which they lived, and it was not long before they formed and executed a scheme to make those advantages their own. They forged letters from the Rhegians to Pyrrhus, importing an offer to put the place into his hands; and under this pretext, they massacred all the chief men of the place at a banquet, and then fell upon the rest, whom they either put to the sword or drove out of the city. As for the women, they obliged them to marry the murderers of their fathers and husbands. This news was brought to Rome at the time when the circumstances of the republic would not allow the Romans to take vengeance on the perfidious legion.

II. PYRRHUS hearing at Tarentum, that the consul Lævinus was come with an army into Lucania, a province in alliance with the Tarentines, and was committing hostilities there, thought it shameful to continue longer shut up within walls; and though he had not received any reinforcements from the Samnites and Messapians, or other allies of the Tarentines, he

Plut. in  
Pyrrh. p.  
392.



took the field. But first he wrote the following letter to Lævinus: "PYRRHUS to LÆVINUS health. I am informed that you command an army, which is to make war against the Tarentines. Disband it without delay, and then come and expose your pretensions before me. When I have heard both parties, I will give judgment, and I know how to make my sentence be obeyed." To this Lævinus answered: "Know, Pyrrhus, that we neither admit you for a judge, nor fear you as an enemy. Does it become you to assume the character of a judge over us, you who have yourself injured us by landing in Italy without our consent? We will have no arbitrator but Mars, the author of our race, and the protector of our arms." The king, who expected no other kind of answer, marched his army, without delay, into the plain between the cities of Pandosia and Heraclea; and understanding, that the Romans were encamped not far from him, on the other side the Siris, (a river which waters the country then called Lucania, and which empties itself into the gulf of Tarentum) he rode up to the banks of it to take a view of their camp. When he had considered it well, its form and situation, with the manner in which the Romans posted their advanced guards; and had observed some other parts of their discipline, he was much surprised, and turning to one of his friends who stood near him, "Megacles," said he, "this ORDER of the Barbarians is not barbarian. What they are able to do in fight we shall see

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Zon. B. 8.

Plut. Life  
of Pyrrhus,  
p. 393.

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hereafter." And being now a little more anxious about the success of the war than before, he resolved to wait within his camp for the arrival of his confederates; and he posted some troops on the banks of the river to hinder the Romans from passing it. Lævinus nevertheless, knowing of what consequence it was to come to an engagement with the Epirot before he could receive the reinforcements he expected, and having exhorted his troops not to be intimidated by the reputation of Pyrrhus, or by his elephants, (animals which they had never yet seen) made his infantry ford the stream in the very face of the enemy's advanced guard, while his cavalry passed the river in different places, and wherever they could; so that the Epirots, fearing to be surrounded, retired in all haste to their main body. Pyrrhus, upon the first notice of this motion, which much surprised him, directing the officers of his infantry to range their troops in battalia, and keep them ready to march upon the first signal, he himself, with the horse, amounting to about 3000, advanced with all diligence to charge the Romans, before their whole army could recover firm footing, and get into order. But the Roman cavalry being already formed, received him as men well exercised in sustaining furious attacks. The beauty and lustre of the king's arms made him very conspicuous, and his actions presently convinced all who observed him, that his reputation did not exceed his merit; for in this fight, neither did his courage trans-

port him beyond the duties of a careful general, nor his attention to direct others hinder him from displaying his personal valour.

During the heat of the combat, Leonatus, a Macedonian, observing that an Italian horseman had singled out the king, whose every motion he watched and followed, gave Pyrrhus notice of it, advising him to beware of that Barbarian, who, he said, seemed to have formed some great design. PYRRHUS answered: "No man, LEONATUS, can avoid his destiny; be assured, however, that neither that Italian, nor any other, shall have much satisfaction from an encounter with me this day." He had scarce ended these words, when the Italian, quickening his horse, and making directly at the king, aimed a furious stroke at him with his lance, but wounded only his horse; Leonatus, at the same time, wounded that of the Italian, and both horses fell to the ground with their riders. Pyrrhus was instantly surrounded by a troop of his friends, who carried him off, having slain the Italian, who fought with great bravery.

This adventure taught Pyrrhus to be more cautious. Seeing his cavalry shrink, he ordered his infantry to advance; but before he put himself at their head to renew the charge, he gave his mantle and arms to Megacles, in exchange for his. The battle was obstinately fought on both sides, and the victory continued a long time doubtful. The king's changing his arms, (though prudently done for the safety of his person) had like to have lost him the day:

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seven-  
ty-nine.  
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sulship.  
Plut. *ibid.*



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dred seven-  
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for MEGACLES being mistaken for the KING, was attacked by great numbers of the enemy, and at last wounded and unhorsed by a Roman knight, who pulling away his helmet and mantle, rode full speed with them to Lævinus, crying out, that he had slain Pyrrhus. These spoils being carried as in triumph through all the ranks, filled the Roman army with inexpressible joy, so that the air rung with shouts of victory; while the Grecian troops were struck with consternation and dismay.

Plut. p. 394.

The king no sooner perceived the ill effect of this mistake, but with all diligence he flew along the lines bare-headed, stretching out his hands to his soldiers, and by his voice confirming the evidence of their eyes. The combat was then renewed, and Pyrrhus bringing his elephants into the wings, quickly obtained the victory. For the Roman battalions seeing their cavalry put to rout by those huge animals, whose unusual form, noises, and smell, terrified the horses, and finding themselves both charged in flank, and overborne by the force and bulk of those strange beasts, gave way to necessity, and saved themselves as well as they could by hasty flight; nor did they stop to defend their camp, but ran quite beyond it, leaving both that and the honour of the day entirely to Pyrrhus.

Dion. apud  
Plutarch.

Dionysius writes, that near 15,000 Romans were slain in this battle, and that Pyrrhus lost 13,000 of his men. But other authors lessen the loss on both sides. The king treated the prisoners, amounting to about 1800, with all

possible humanity, and esteemed them the more for refusing to enlist themselves in his service.

The fame of this victory was soon spread over all Italy, much to the reputation of Pyrrhus; for it was a rare thing, that a Roman consul, with a select army, should lose in a pitched battle not only the field, but the camp itself. And this honour was the more bravely won by the Epirot, as he had none of his Italian allies to assist him, except the unwarlike Tarentines. Neither could he well dissemble his content in having the glory of this action so peculiarly his own. His satisfaction was visible in his face, even while he was severely reprimanding the Lucanians and Samnites (who joined him soon after the battle) for their tardiness. To attach them the more firmly to him, he gave them a share of the booty.

III. BUT now the king of Epirus, with his victorious army, broke like a torrent into the countries in alliance with the republic, and many cities surrendering to him, he advanced within thirty miles of Rome<sup>2</sup>. Zonaras relates, that the king, being disappointed in his designs upon Capua and Naples, thought to march into Hetruria, join the enemies of the Roman republic in that country, and thence go and

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Plut. in  
Pyrrh.  
p. 394.  
Zon. B. 8.

<sup>2</sup> Florus, Book I. c. 18. in his poetic strain tells us, that Pyrrhus from a hill near Præneste took a view of Rome, and filled the eyes of the trembling inhabitants with smoke and dust at twenty miles distance, *à vicesimo lapide oculos trepidæ civitatis fumo ac pulvere implevit.*

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besiege Rome; but that hearing there was an alliance just concluded between the Hetrurians and Romans, and that the consul Coruncanius, who by a successful campaign had effected that alliance, was advancing against him, he proceeded no further in his march. It appears, indeed, by the Capitoline Marbles that Tib. Coruncanius had a triumph for his victories this year over the Volsinienses and Volcientes in Hetruria. And it is not improbable that these victories completed the reduction of that country. Be that as it will, it is certain that Pyrrhus returned to Tarentum.

The Romans, notwithstanding the great loss they had sustained, were not so dejected as to have any thought of asking peace from the victor; nor, though Fabricius said publicly, “that the Epirots had not vanquished the Romans, but that Pyrrhus had vanquished Lævinus,” did they recal the unfortunate consul: their whole attention was to recruit his army, and enable him to try a second engagement. Pyrrhus, in his return to Tarentum, found him in Campania, with a more numerous army than that which he had vanquished on the banks of the Siris; and hereupon he is said to have cried out, “I see plainly I was born under the star of Hercules, I have to do with an Hydra, whose heads are no sooner lopped off, but new ones spring up from its blood.” The consul offered him battle; Pyrrhus, unwilling to refuse it, drew up his army, and commanded the conductors of his elephants to force them to make their strange and dreadful noises, in order to

Zonaras,  
B. 8.

Florus, B. 1.

Zonaras,  
B. 8.



frighten the Roman legions; but these noises were answered by so universal and terrible a shout from the Romans, that the king, who found his soldiers dismayed, thought fit to decline the engagement, pretending that the omens were not favourable; and the consul not forcing him to fight, he pursued his march to Tarentum.

IV. WHILE Pyrrhus continued quiet in this city, he had time to reflect on the bravery, conduct, and strength of the Romans. He considered that they were better able to endure many such losses as they had suffered, than he many such victories as he had won. And he concluded therefore, that the only means to save his reputation was an honourable peace. He was full of these reflections, when to his inexpressible joy he heard that an embassy was coming<sup>3</sup> to him from the senate; he pleased

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<sup>3</sup> Authors are not agreed concerning the time of this embassy, whether it was after Cyneas had been to Rome or before. Plutarch (whom Mr. Rollin follows) makes it posterior to Cyneas's journey thither; and Dionysius seems to do the same. But, if we consider the haughty manner in which Cyneas was dismissed by the senate with an absolute refusal of entering into any treaty with the king while he continued in Italy, at least it is very unlikely that Fabricius, after such a refusal, should apply himself to Pyrrhus in the manner Dionysius represents, preaching about the inconstancy of fortune, and as if he was asking a favour. He is made to speak more like an ambassador from a people who sued for peace, than from the proud Roman senate, who rejected it even upon reasonable terms. Hannibal, indeed, before the battle of Zama, talks much to Scipio of the mutability of fortune, and the vicissitudes of war; but this was in order to dis-

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Dion. Hal.  
in Legat.  
Zon. B. 8.

himself with the imagination, that it was to ask that peace, which he himself so much desired. But when the three Roman ambassadors, Cornelius Dolabella, Fabricius, and Æmilius Papus, after a splendid reception, were admitted to an audience, they proposed nothing more than a release of the Roman prisoners, either by way of exchange, or for such a ransom per head, as should be agreed upon. Pyrrhus, after a moment's silence, answered, "that he would consider of the matter, and let them know his resolution." Accordingly he assembled his council; and there Cyneas, who knew his master's inclination, proposed that an embassy should be immediately sent to Rome to negotiate a peace, of which one of the conditions should be the release of the Roman prisoners without ransom. The rest of the council declared themselves of the same opinion, and the king gave the Romans an answer conformable to it.

Pyrrhus after this desired a private conference with Fabricius, who, he had heard, was the man most esteemed, for his virtue, of any in the re-

pose him to grant peace to the Carthaginians, whom he had reduced to extremity.

Neither can I see what there was unbecoming in Fabricius's proposal, even upon the supposition that the Romans had rejected a peace offered. A release of prisoners by way of ransom or exchange, is what surely without any indecency may be proposed to an enemy, notwithstanding that a peace has been refused to that enemy upon his terms. Yet Dionysius makes Pyrrhus reprove the ambassadors as guilty herein of an unworthy proceeding.—Σχέτλιόν τι πράγμα ποιεῖτε, &c.

*D. Hal. in Legat. p. 711. Dr. Huds. edit.*

Flor. Epit.  
and Zon.  
L. 8.

See D. Hal.  
in Legat.

public, a brave and able warrior, and very poor. The king taking him apart, told him, "he had been informed of his distinguished merit; and of his poverty so unsuitable to it; that he thought a prince could never employ his wealth and power to a nobler purpose, than that of raising the fortune of an indigent great man; and that for this reason he had resolved to bestow such riches upon him, as should put him, at least, upon an equality with the most opulent nobles of Rome." The king added; "Nor yet imagine, FABRICIUS, that my intention is to ask any thing, in return, that can be inconsistent with the regard you owe your country. I demand nothing but your aid in negotiating the peace which I am desirous to conclude with the Roman senate. You know very well that I cannot with honour abandon the Tarentines, and the other Greeks who are settled in this part of Italy, before I have secured to them a peace with Rome upon equitable terms. Some pressing affairs call me back into my own country, and this makes me the more solicitous to finish our war by an amicable treaty. If my being a KING <sup>4</sup> renders me suspected by the senate, because other princes have made no

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Dion. Hal.  
in Legat

<sup>4</sup> The Greek historians seldom lose any occasion of letting us known their unfavourable opinion of kings. Plutarch, speaking of this very Pyrrhus, says, "KINGS have no reason to complain when inferior men change sides, and violate faith for private advantage, seeing in this, they do but imitate them who are the great masters in perfidy and treachery; and whose maxim is, that no man pursues his own interest with so much prudence as he who has no regard to justice.

Plut. in  
Pyrrh.



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scruple to violate the faith of treaties, be you yourself my security. When the peace is made,

And Polybius (L. ii. p. 202.) reproves the folly of Phylarchus, an historian, who, in giving an account of the miserable end of Aristomachus, king of Argos, whom (as he pretends) the Achaians had put to death by torture, endeavours to heighten the glory of the sufferer, and excite the greater indignation against his persecutors, by saying, "That Aristomachus was not only an ABSOLUTE PRINCE, but descended from ancestors, who had been ABSOLUTE PRINCES. What more bitter accusation (says Polybius) could any one easily have brought against him? What charge heavier with crimes could he have loaded him with? For surely this name of ABSOLUTE PRINCE expresses the very height of impiety; it imports all the kinds of injustice and wickedness that can be committed by man."

Καίπερ ὁ συγγραφεὺς βεβλόμενος αὖξιν αὐτῷ τὴν δόξαν καὶ παραστήσασθαι τῆς ἀκροντίας εἰς τὸ μᾶλλον αὐτῷ συναγανακτεῖν ἐφ' οἷς ἔπαθεν, ἢ μόνον αὐτὸν φησὶ γεγονέναι τύραννον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐκ τυράννων πεφυκέναι. ταύτης δὲ μείζω κατηγορίαν τὴν πικροτέραν ἔδ' ὧν εἰπεῖν ῥαδιὸς δύναιτ' εἶδεις, αὐτὸ γὰρ πᾶν ὄνομα περιέχει τὴν ἀσεβεάτην ἔμφασιν, καὶ πᾶσάς περιέλιπε τὰς ἐν ἀνθρώποις ἀδικίας καὶ παρανομίας.

The reader observes, that the word which, in this passage of Polybius, has been translated ABSOLUTE PRINCE, is *τύραννος* [TYRANT] an appellation frequently used by the ancients to signify only a prince with absolute and perpetual power; in which sense it is used by Phylarchus on the present occasion. We cannot possibly suppose him so very unskilled in the pathetic, as to endeavour at exciting either indignation or pity for the sufferings of Aristomachus, by telling us, that he not only was a TYRANT himself, but descended from ancestors who had been as great TYRANTS as he.

Cornelius Nepos, speaking of Miltiades, has these words;—"Chersonesi omnes illos quos habitarat annos, perpetuam obtinuerat dominationem, tyrannusque fuerat appellatus, sed justus. Non erat enim vi consequutus, sed suorum voluntate, eamque potestatem bonitate retinuerat. Omnes autem et habentur, et dicuntur tyranni, qui potestate sunt perpetua in ea civitate, quæ libertate usa est.

come and assist me with your counsels ; I will undertake nothing without your advice ; you shall be my chief minister, my lieutenant in the field, nay a sharer with me in all that I possess. I have need of an honest man, and a faithful friend, and you have need of a generous prince, a prince, whose munificence may enable you to make your virtues and your talents for great affairs more conspicuous, and more useful ; let us therefore mutually contribute to each other's happiness."

FABRICIUS answered in words to this effect :  
 " You have, indeed, been rightly informed concerning my poverty. My whole estate consists in a house but of mean appearance, and a little spot of ground, from which, by my own labour, I draw my support. But if, by any means, you have been persuaded to think, that this poverty makes me less considered in my country, or in any degree unhappy, you are extremely deceived. I have no reason to complain of fortune. She supplies me with all that nature requires, and, if I am without superfluities, I am also free from the desire of them. With these, I confess, I should be more able to succour the necessitous, the only advantage for which the wealthy are to be envied : but as small as my possessions are, I can still contribute something to the support of the state, and the assistance of my friends. With regard to HONOURS, my country places me, poor as I am, upon a level with the richest : for Rome knows no qualifications for great em-

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Plut. in  
Pyrrh. p.  
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ployments, but virtue and ability. She appoints me to officiate in the most august ceremonies of religion; she intrusts me with the command of her armies; she confides to my care the most important negotiations: my poverty does not lessen the weight and influence of my counsels in the senate; the Roman people honour me for that very poverty which you consider as a disgrace; they know the many opportunities I have had, in war, to enrich myself without incurring censure; they are convinced of my disinterested zeal for their prosperity; and, if I have any thing to complain of in the return they make me, it is only the excess of their applause. What value then can I set upon your gold and silver? What king can add any thing to my fortune? Always attentive to discharge the duties incumbent on me, I have A MIND FREE FROM SELF-REPROACH, and I have an HONEST FAME."

The king, perceiving by this answer that Fabricius absolutely refused his offers, pressed him no further. The next day, knowing that he had never seen an elephant, and being desirous to try whether he could surprise and discompose him, he commanded the largest he had of those animals to be armed, and led to the place where he intended to converse with the ambassador. The beast was to stand concealed behind some hangings till a sign should be made for his appearance. The king's order being punctually executed, the signal was given, the hangings were suddenly drawn aside, and



the enormous animal, stretching out his trunk over the head of the Roman, made a most terrifying noise. Fabricius betrayed not the least emotion, but turning towards Pyrrhus, said with a smile, "neither your gold yesterday, nor your great beast to-day, have made any impression upon me."

While they were sitting at table in the evening, discoursing of various subjects, but especially of Greece, and the philosophers of that country, CYNEAS happened to mention EPICURUS; and he began to relate the principles of the Epicurean doctrine: "that the DIVINITY, far removed from love and hatred, compassion and anger, and wholly regardless of humankind, lived through all ages, without action, and without providence, totally absorbed in an uninterrupted flow of delights. That PLEASURE was also the SOVEREIGN GOOD OF MAN; and that, for this reason, all public employments, all solicitude for the public weal, should be carefully shunned by the wise, as inconsistent with a life of happiness." Cyneas was going on, when with a loud voice, "O HERCULES," cried FABRICIUS, "may PYRRHUS and the TARENTINES be heartily of this SECT, while they are at war with us!" The king greatly admiring the wisdom and virtue of the Roman, became more desirous than ever to conclude an alliance with his republic. He therefore, once more, took him apart, and warmly pressed him to employ his endeavours for a speedy accommodation; earnestly requesting of him, at the same time,

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that, as soon as the peace should be made, he would come and live at his court, where he promised him the first place among all his friends and captains. Fabricius answered in a kind of whisper, “you don’t consider, SIR, your own interest in what you propose; for if those who now honour and admire you, come once to have experience of me, they will choose rather to have me for their king than you.” Pyrrhus was not in the least offended with this answer, but to his friends highly commended the exalted soul of the Roman; upon whose single parole he also suffered the prisoners<sup>5</sup> to go to Rome to celebrate the festival of the Saturnalia.

Plut. in  
Pyrrh. p.  
394.

And now Pyrrhus, having resolved to send Cyneas to negotiate a peace with the Roman senate, instructed him, if we may believe Plutarch, to ask nothing of the Romans but their friendship<sup>6</sup>, and a sufficient security for the

<sup>5</sup> The senate (according to Plutarch) careful of Fabricius’s honour and their own, commanded every prisoner upon pain of death to return to Pyrrhus, as soon as the festival should be over.

With respect to this affair there is a great diversity in the accounts of Plutarch, Justin, Florus, and Zonaras. Some say, the prisoners were absolutely released, and that the senate, to punish them as cowards, would not suffer them to serve again in the field, but sent them to garrison towns.

<sup>6</sup> Other writers make his demands to be more extensive, and say, that he required, in favour of all the Greek cities in Italy, the enjoyment of their laws and liberty\*; and further, that the republic should restore to the Samnites, Lucanians, and Bruttians, whatever she had conquered

\* Appian. apud Fulv. Ursin.

Tarentines. Upon which conditions he offered to cease all hostilities, release the captives, and assist the republic in the conquest of Italy.

Together with these instructions, Pyrrhus furnished his ambassador with magnificent presents for those persons whose assistance would be necessary to compass what he desired; nor did he forget rare and precious toys for the Roman ladies, by whose means he hoped to smooth the rugged spirit of their husbands in his favour. Some authors report, that Cyneas found both men and women so steady and uncorrupt, that not one of either sex would receive any of his presents: but Zonaras affirms, that many even of the senators were gained by the liberality of Pyrrhus. Be that as it will, it is certain, that after Cyneas had had his audience in the senate, several of the conscript fathers discovered a strong inclination to accept the peace proposed, assigning for reasons the battle they had already lost, the hazard they were in of losing another (Pyrrhus's strength being now greatly augmented by the junction of his Italian allies) and the fatal consequences that might attend a second overthrow. A rumour of this disposition in the

from them. These demands, if they were made, may well account for the warm indignation which Appius Claudius the Blind expressed, as we shall presently find, at the senate's listening to Pyrrhus's minister. But then it will be difficult to reconcile them with the offer which Pyrrhus at the same time made the Romans, to assist them in the conquest of Italy. The Jesuits, aware of this inconvenience, have made Cyneas speak only of the west of Italy.

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Just. Plut.  
et Flor.

Plut. in  
Pyrrh. p.  
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senate being spread through the city, came to the ears of Appius Claudius. He had for some time, on account of his great age and the loss of his sight, retired from all public business<sup>7</sup>, and confined himself wholly to his family. Upon hearing the report of what passed in the senate, he caused himself to be carried in the arms of his domestics to the door of the senate-house. There his sons and his sons-in-law met him, and led him into the assembly, which was hushed into a profound silence the moment he appeared. The venerable old man was hardly entered when he thus began :

“ Hitherto, Romans, I have borne the loss of my sight with weariness and impatience ; but my great affliction now is, that I am only blind, and that I am not deaf too ; that I am able to hear of those shameful resolutions you are taking, and of that infamous treaty which is to extinguish the glory of the Roman name. What then is become of all those brave discourses, those lofty, sounding words, with which you are wont to make all places ring, “ That if Alexander had come into Italy when we were young, and our fathers in the vigour of their age ; that if the great Alexander had dared to contend in arms with us, he would not be now styled THE INVINCIBLE, but by his

<sup>7</sup> This Appius Claudius had been quæstor in the year of Rome 435 ; curule ædile in 438 ; and, a second time, in 440 ; censor in 441 ; consul in 446 ; prætor in 448 ; consul, a second time, in 457 ; prætor, a second time, in 458 ; dictator in 461, (according to Pighius.)

death or flight have added new lustre to the Roman glory: an idle tale! vain and empty boasting! Heroes indeed! you that are afraid of the Chaonians\* and Molossians, ever the prey of the Macedonians! you, that are trembling at the name of Pyrrhus, an assiduous humble courtier of one of Alexander's life-guards! a vagabond in Italy, come hither not so much to succour the Italic Greeks, as to seek a shelter from his enemies at home! And yet this mighty man, this Pyrrhus, it seems, is to conquer Italy; he is to subdue all Italy to us with those very forces that were not able to preserve to him a small portion of Macedonia! No, Romans, suffer not his arrogance to escape unpunished; if you condescend to treat with him, your glory is at an end; Pyrrhus will himself despise you; his allies will insult you as a nation easy to be terrified; and one dishonourable peace will involve you in a hundred wars."

Appius, by these and some other words to the like effect, so awakened the Roman spirit in the senators, that without further debate they unanimously passed a decree, instantly to dismiss the ambassador with this answer, "That the Romans would enter into no treaty with king Pyrrhus so long as he continued in Italy; but with all their strength would pursue the war against him, though he should vanquish a thousand Lævinuses.

Cyneas left Rome the same day, and returned to Tarentum. It is said, that when

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\* People  
of Epirus.

Plut. in  
Pyrrh.  
p. 395.

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dred seven  
ty-nine.

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sulship.  
Plut. in  
Pyrrh. p.  
395.  
Flor. B. 1.  
c. 18.

Pyrrhus asked him his opinion of the Roman city and senate, he answered, that ROME was a TEMPLE, and the SENATE an ASSEMBLY OF KINGS. His account of what he had observed greatly increased the king's admiration of the Romans; but finding that there was no hopes of peace, he made all possible preparations for the next campaign.

## CHAP. XXVII.

- I. *The Romans come to a second battle with king Pyrrhus. Pyrrhus retires to Tarentum, and the consuls into winter quarters.* II. *The Carthaginians send a fleet to the assistance of the Romans against Pyrrhus. The senate refuse the assistance offered.* III. *The Romans and Epirots having again taken the field, the consuls give the king notice of the treachery of his physician, who had offered to poison him for a reward. Pyrrhus once more sends Cyneas to Rome with proposals of peace, but to no effect.* IV. *Pyrrhus passes with his army into SICILY.*

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dred seven-  
ty-eight.

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sulship.  
Zon. B. 8.

I. IN the meantime the republic chose new consuls, P. Sulpicius Saverrio and P. Decius Mus, (whose father and grandfather were both famous for their devotements.) The two generals joined their armies, and marched together into Apulia, where they found Pyrrhus encamped near a little town called Asculum; and where they intrenched themselves in a plain at the foot of the Apennines. This plain was divided by a large deep stream, which likewise separated the two camps. For some time the Romans and Epirots seemed to stand in awe of each other. The latter had entertained the



foolish belief, that the Decii transmitted from father to son some unaccountable art of necromancy, by which they secured the victory to their side, whenever they lost their lives in battle. Pyrrhus endeavoured to destroy this dangerous prepossession among his soldiers; and not only so, but he sent a message to Decius, "That if he attempted to devote himself, he would find the Epirots upon their guard, who would take him alive, and make him suffer the most cruel kind of death after the battle." To this message the consuls returned the following answer: "PYRRHUS is not formidable enough to reduce us to devotements. To show how little we fear him, we offer him his choice: let him pass the river unmolested, or suffer us to do so, and we shall then see which of us has the more need of extraordinary methods to gain the victory." Pyrrhus chose to let the Romans pass the river. The historians are not agreed concerning the circumstances of the battle of Asculum, nor the success of it, and some make two battles of it. The Romans had prepared against the elephants armed chariots filled with soldiers, who were to throw fire-brands and other combustible matter against those huge beasts and the towers on their backs. It is certain, that Pyrrhus was dangerously wounded in the action, and that the consul Decius lost his life; but whether in fighting, or by a voluntary devotement in imitation of his father and grandfather, as Cicero thinks, is not known. Fifteen thousand men, including

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Zon. B. 8.

Cicero, in  
Tusc. B. 1.  
c. 37.  
Zon. B. 8.

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dred seven-  
ty-seven.

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sulship.

\* A second  
time.

† A second  
time.  
Justin, B. 8.  
c. 2.

Polyb. B. 3.  
c. 25.  
Liv. Epit.  
13.

Justin, B.  
18. c. 2.

the loss on both sides, were left dead upon the field. Pyrrhus after the battle, making a march unperceived by the Romans, retired to Tarentum; whereupon the consul Sulpicius led his troops into winter-quarters in Apulia.

II. AND now the republic placed at the helm of her government two men of the most distinguished merit, C. Fabricius \* and Q. Æmilius Papus †. The Carthaginians at this time sent Mago with a fleet of one hundred and twenty sail to assist the Romans against Pyrrhus, who, they heard, would make a descent upon Sicily, after he had forced the Roman republic into a peace; for the Syracusians had invited him thither to protect them against the tyranny of the Carthaginians, who not long before had invaded their country. Mago coming to Rome, told the senate, "That the Carthaginians, full of concern to see the Romans attacked by king Pyrrhus, had sent a fleet to their assistance, that in a war with a foreign power they might have foreign aid." The fathers returned a compliment of thanks for the kind offer, but would by no means accept it. However, they entered into a new treaty with the Carthaginians, in which it was stipulated, that the Romans should furnish troops to assist the Carthaginian republic, in case Pyrrhus attacked it; and that the Carthaginians should assist the Romans, when desired, with their fleet. After this Mago sailed to Tarentum, where he had a conference with the king of Epirus. Finding that his intention was to pass very soon into Sicily, he,



in order to prevent it, sailed with his fleet into the straits between that island and Italy, under pretence of besieging Rhegium. This obliged Pyrrhus to continue at Tarentum, and carry on the war for some time longer against the Romans.

III. WHEN the spring was sufficiently advanced, the consuls marched their troops into the territory of Tarentum, and Pyrrhus came and encamped within sight of them; but the high opinion he had of Fabricius made him avoid a battle. While the two armies were watching each other, Fabricius<sup>1</sup> received a letter from Nicias, the king's principal physician, offering to take off his master by poison, and so end the war without further hazard to the Romans, provided he might have a reward proportionable to the greatness of his service. Fabricius detesting the villany of the physician, and finding his colleague of the same sentiment, they immediately despatched the following letter to the king: "C. FABRICIUS and Q. ÆMILIUS, consuls, to king PYRRHUS, health. You have made an unhappy choice both of your friends and of your enemies. When you have read the letter sent us by one of your own people, you will see that you make war with good and honest men, while you trust and promote villains. We give you this notice of your danger, not for our sake, nor to make our court to you, but to avoid the calumny which might be brought upon us by your death, as

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ty-seven.

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sulship.  
Diod. in  
Eclog. B.  
22.

Zon. B. 8.  
Plut. Life  
of Pyrrh.  
p. 396.

<sup>1</sup> This story is differently related by the historians, as to the circumstances, but they all agree in the substance.



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Bef. J. C.  
Two hun-  
dred seven-  
ty-seven.

174th Con-  
sulship.

Eutropius,  
B. 2. c. 14.

Plut. in  
Pyrrhus.  
p. 396.

Plut. p. 397.

if, for want of strength or courage to overcome you, we had recourse to treachery." Pyrrhus, upon receipt of this letter, is said to have cried out, " This is that Fabricius, whom it is harder to turn aside from the ways of justice and honour, than to divert the sun from its course ;" and in acknowledgment of the benefit, he immediately set all the Roman prisoners free without ransom. Rome was, however, too generous to accept a present from an enemy, much less a reward for not consenting to an execrable deed. In return, therefore, she released an equal number of Samnite and Tarentine prisoners. But though Pyrrhus, more ardent than ever for a peace, despatched Cyneas once more to Rome, to try the force of his eloquence and presents, this able minister had no better success than before ; the senators were steady in their resolution to enter into no treaty with the king, till he had withdrawn his troops out of Italy.

IV. It has been already said, that the Syracusians had invited Pyrrhus into their island to assist them against the Carthaginians. The king laid hold of this pretext to quit the war against the Romans, in which he had now but little hope of success, having in the last action lost his best troops and his bravest commanders. Besides, the Sicilian expedition was a new enterprise, and therefore very agreeable to the natural inconstancy of his spirit. But just at this time he received intelligence, that Ptolemy Ceraunus, king of Macedon, was dead, and that the Macedonians wanted a king to guard

them against an inundation of barbarians. This news kept him some time in suspense, and he pleasantly complained of fortune for loading him with too many favours at once. Macedon had formerly been in his possession, and he wished to be master of it again; but as Sicily would open him a passage into Africa, and conduct him to a more ample harvest of glory, he determined at length for that expedition. In consequence of this resolution, he sent his faithful Cyneas before him to treat with the cities there, and give them assurances of his speedy arrival. Not long after, leaving in Tarentum, under the command of Milo, a strong garrison, sufficient to keep the much discontented inhabitants in subjection, he set sail from thence with thirty thousand foot and two thousand five hundred horse, on board a fleet of two hundred ships. His departure proved fatal to the enemies of Rome. Fabricius fell upon the united Bruttians, Lucanians, Tarentines, and Samnites, defeated them, drove them out of the field, and laid waste their countries.

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dred seven-  
ty-seven.

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sulship.

Zon. B. 8.

## CHAP. XXVIII.

- I. *The state of Sicily at the time of Pyrrhus's arrival there. He makes rapid and extensive conquests in the island.*  
 II. *The Romans suffer a shameful defeat from the Samnites.* III. *But, the next year, carrying on the war with success against the Samnites, Lucanians, and Bruttians, these nations send to entreat Pyrrhus to return to their assistance. His fleet, in its return to Italy, is attacked*



*by the Carthaginian fleet. After his landing suffers a considerable loss of men. He plunders the temple of Proserpine. IV. The Romans, under the conduct of Curius Dentatus, totally defeat the forces of Pyrrhus. V. Who leaving a strong garrison in Tarentum, embarks for Epirus.*

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Two hun-  
dred seven-  
ty-seven.

174th Con-  
sulship.

Diod. Sic.  
in Ecl. 21.

Polyb. B.  
1. c. 7.

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R O M E  
CCCCCLXXVI  
Bef. J. C.  
Two hun-  
dred seven-  
ty-six.

175th Con-  
sulship.

Justin, B.  
23. c. 3.

I. WHEN Pyrrhus arrived in Sicily, this island was almost wholly possessed by foreigners of three different nations, Italians, Carthaginians, and Greeks, who had settled there at different times. Messina, Lilybæum, and Syracuse, were the capitals of the three dominions there established. The Mamertines, from Mamertum, in Campania, had possessed themselves of the first (much in the same manner as the perfidious legion, who followed their example, got possession of Rhegium;) the Carthaginians were masters of the second; and the third was governed by two tyrants, whom common interest had united after a civil war, to call in the king of Epirus to assist them against the growing power of the formidable African republic.

Pyrrhus, soon after his arrival, deprived the Carthaginians of all their conquests in Sicily, except Lilybæum. He also attacked the Mamertines, and having defeated them in a pitched battle, reduced them to their city of Messina only; after which he counted so much on the reduction of the whole island, that he caused one of his younger sons (whom he had by a daughter of king Agathocles) to be styled king of Sicily, purposing to make the other king of



Italy, which he now also looked upon as a certain conquest.

II. In the meantime the centuries at Rome proceeded to the choice of new consuls. Fabricius presided in the *comitia*, and the respect he had acquired by his virtue was such, that it made him master of the elections. Every body therefore was astonished to see him vote and influence the assembly in favour of Cornelius Ruffinus, a man extremely covetous and self-interested. Fabricius hated him thoroughly, yet promoted his election, because of the dangerous situation of affairs, and because he knew him to be a much abler soldier than any of his competitors. And these reasons were implied in the short answer he made to Ruffinus's compliment of thanks; "I deserve no thanks," said he, "for choosing rather to be plundered than sold." The colleague given to Ruffinus\* was C. Junius Brutus†, and they both turned their forces against Samnium. The Samnites being too weak to sustain the attacks of two consular armies, fled to their mountains, and there intrenched themselves so strongly, that it was no easy matter to force them. The Romans nevertheless attempted it, and were punished for their rashness; many of them were killed, and a great number taken prisoners, and loaded with irons. The consuls at length, ashamed of their enterprise, threw the blame on each other, and separated; Brutus continued in Samnium, while Ruffinus entered the territory of the Lucanians and Bruttians. These

Year of  
R O M E  
DCCCLXXVI.  
Bef. J. C.  
Two hundred seventy-six.

175th Consulship.

Cicero de  
Orat. B. 2.  
c. 66.

\* A second time.  
† A second time.  
Zonaras,  
B. 8.

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCCXXVI.  
Bef. J. C.  
Two hun-  
dred seven-  
ty-six.

175th Con-  
sulship.

Frontini  
Strat. B. 3:  
c. 6.  
Zonaras,  
B. 8.

Appian.  
apud Valcs.

nations continued steady in their adherence to Pyrrhus and the Tarentines. Ruffinus therefore not only laid their country waste with fire and sword, but formed a design upon Croton, a considerable city belonging to the Bruttians, and situated on the borders of the Ionian sea, at a little distance from Cape Lacinium. He found this place too well defended to be carried by force; for Milo having notice of his design, had sent a reinforcement of Epirots to the garrison, under the command of one Nicomachus. However, the consul took it by stratagem. Having been repulsed by the besieged, who made a sally, he exaggerated the loss he had sustained in the action, and employed two pretended deserters to publish, one, that he was going to retire into the country of the Locrenses; the other, that he was actually gone, and had marched off in a precipitate manner. Nicomachus, deceived by these reports, and by the consul's decamping, hastened with his troops to relieve Locris, which he imagined the Romans intended to besiege. Ruffinus took the advantage of his absence, returned with all expedition, and, by the help of a fog, got into the place almost before the inhabitants, who were in perfect security, discovered him; and not only so, but he defeated Nicomachus also in the field, who, when he found himself cheated, would have led back his detachment to Tarentum. Locris likewise soon after surrendered to the Romans, the inhabitants having first massacred the governor and garrison that Pyr-



Pyrrhus had left in it. [The Capitoline Marbles ascribe all these exploits to the consul Brutus.]

III. In the following consulship of Q. Fabius Gurgēs\* and C. Genucius, Rome was afflicted with a strange sort of plague, which chiefly affected women with child, and breeding cattle. To put an end to this calamity, an unfortunate vestal was buried alive; and Ruffinus was created dictator, to drive a nail into the wall of Jupiter's temple. In the meantime the sickness did not hinder the Romans from continuing the war. Fabius by repeated victories reduced the Samnites, Lucanians, and Bruttians so low, that they could no longer keep the field without Pyrrhus; and they therefore sent ambassadors to him to entreat him to return, and put himself again at their head.

The face of Pyrrhus's affairs in Sicily was now much changed. At his first arrival he gained the hearts of the Sicilians, by his insinuating affable behaviour; but being afterwards elated with success, his mild government changed into an absolute tyranny. He treated cruelly those very men who had been chiefly instrumental to his good fortune. He excluded the natives from the magistracies, bestowing them on his guards and courtiers, whose extortions and injustices were so grievous, that at length the cities entered into leagues, some with the Carthaginians, and others with the Mamertines, to expel him from the island. The African republic had also sent a powerful army into Sicily to recover

Year of  
R O M E  
ccccclxxviii  
Bef. J. C.  
Two hundred  
seventy-five.

176th Consulship.

\* A second  
time.  
Oros. B. 4.  
Euseb. and  
Pausan.  
B. 4.

Justin B.  
23. c. 3.  
Plut. Life of  
Pyrrh. p.  
398.  
D. Hal. in  
excerptis à  
Valesio.



Year of  
R O M E  
ccccclxxvii  
Bef. J. C.  
Two hun-  
dred seven-  
ty-five.

176th Con-  
sulship.

Justin, B.  
23. c. 3.  
Plut. Life of  
Pyrrh. p.  
398.  
Appian. in  
excerptis à  
Valesio.

Plut. Life of  
Pyrrh. p.  
399.

her former conquests. This being the situation of the king's affairs when the ambassadors arrived, he was not a little pleased to have so honourable a pretence to leave a country, where he was no longer safe. At his departure, he is reported to have turned his eyes back upon the island, and to have said to those who were near him, "What a noble field are we leaving for the Carthaginians and Romans to fight in!" In his passage the Carthaginian fleet attacked him, sunk seventy of his vessels, and dispersed all the rest of his two hundred sail, except twelve ships, with which he escaped to Italy. He landed near Rhegium: and when he had there collected the scattered remains of his forces, which had been driven on different parts of the coast, he marched toward Tarentum.

The Mamertines, upon the first report of his intended departure from Sicily, had detached 10,000 men to Rhegium, to molest him after his landing; and these lying in ambush in woods and behind rocks, attacked the rear-guard of his army unexpectedly, and made great slaughter. Pyrrhus, on this occasion, signally displayed his heroic bravery and surprising strength. In the beginning of the action he received a wound in the head, which obliged him to retire out of the battle; but returning to it again, he is said with one stroke of his sabre to have cleft a Mamertine to the waist, who defied him to single combat. This action so astonished the enemy, that they ceased the

Zonaras,  
B. 8.

fight, and the king continued his march towards Tarentum. It was necessary for him to pass through the territory of the Locrenses, who had a little before massacred the garrison he had left in Locris. He not only exercised all sorts of cruelties on this people, but plundered the temple of Proserpine, to supply the wants of his army. The great treasure which he found there he put on board his fleet to be carried to Tarentum by sea, but the ships were all dashed against rocks by a tempest, and the mariners lost. The historians relate, that Pyrrhus now repented of his sacrilege; and as the sea had thrown the greatest part of the treasure upon the shore, he caused it to be gathered up and replaced in the temple with great reverence; and not only so, but he put to death all those who had counselled him to rob the temple.

His army, when he arrived at Tarentum, consisted only of about twenty thousand foot and three thousand horse.

IV. BEFORE Pyrrhus was in a condition to renew the war, Rome changed her consuls; and the famous Curius Dentatus was now raised (a second time) to that dignity, with L. Cornelius Lentulus. Their first business was to raise two armies, which might be sufficient to make head against the king of Epirus, with his numerous allies. But when Curius would have begun to form the legions, he found that the Roman youth, from some unaccountable caprice, or perhaps because their spirits were

Year of  
R. O. M. E.  
CCCCCLXXVII  
Bef. J. C.  
Two hundred seven-  
ty-five.

176th Con-  
sulship.  
Dio. apud  
Valesium.

Val. Max.  
B. 1. c. 1.

Year of  
R O M E  
478.  
Bef. J. C.  
Two hun-  
dred seven-  
ty-four.

177th Con-  
sulship.  
Appian.  
apud Vale-  
sium.



Year of  
R O M E  
478.

Bef. J. C.  
Two hun-  
dred seven-  
ty-four.

177th Con-  
sulship.

Val. Max.

B. 6. c. 3.

Florus,

Epit. 14.

depressed by the late contagious distemper, refused to enlist themselves. Upon this he assembled the tribes, and put all their names into an urn. The first drawn was the Pollian tribe; and the man of this tribe, whose name came first up, being an audacious young fellow, and refusing to list, Curius ordered his effects to be sold, and, upon his appealing to the tribunes, he sold the man too, saying, "The commonwealth stood in no need of such members as refused obedience." The fellow's cause being too bad, the tribunes did not think it for their honour to assist him; and from this time, if any Roman refused to list himself in a regular muster, when commanded, it became a custom to make a slave of him.

So wholesome an instance of severity had its due effect; and two considerable armies were raised without further opposition. Lentulus led one into Lucania, while Curius entered Samnium with the other. Pyrrhus, to make head against both, was obliged to divide his forces, which were now become very considerable; and esteeming Curius the more formidable of the two Roman generals, he marched himself against him with the choice of his Epirots and of his elephants. And though the consul had posted himself very advantageously near Beneventum, in a place full of hollow ways, rocks, and woods, where the Grecian phalanx could not act with all its strength; yet Pyrrhus, who found it necessary by some new exploit to confirm his allies, who were much discon-

Plut. in  
Pyrrh. p.  
399.

Frontin.  
B. 2. c. 1.  
Plut. in  
Pyrr. p.  
399.



tented with him, made all possible haste to attack the Romans in their camp. He marched by night in hopes to surprise them; but passing through certain woods his lights failed him, and he lost his way; and at the break of day his approach was discovered by the Romans as he came down the hills that bordered the Taurasian fields. Curius sallied out of his camp with a detachment of his legionaries, and fell upon the king's vanguard with such fury, that he put them to flight, killed a great number of them, and took some elephants. This success encouraged Curius to descend into the plain, and try a pitched battle with the enemy. One of his wings had the advantage in the beginning of the battle, but the other was overborne by the elephants, and driven back to the intrenchments; but then the consul sending for a body of troops which he had left to guard his camp, these so plied the huge beasts with lighted torches, that they ran back upon the Epirots, bearing down and breaking all their ranks, so that the Romans obtained a complete victory. The king is said to have lost in this action 23,000 men. His army, according to Orosius, had consisted of 80,000 foot and 6000 horse.

Pyrrhus's camp being also taken, proved afterwards of great service to the Romans; for they not only admired the form of it, but made it their model for the future. Hitherto a large inclosure within a rampart and a ditch had served them for a camp, in which their tents

Year of  
R O M E  
478.

Bef. J. C.  
Two hun-  
dred seven-  
ty-four.

177th Con-  
sulship.

Oros. B. 4.  
c. 2.

Eutrop. B.  
2. p. 14.  
Frontin.  
B. 4. c. 1.

Year of  
R O M E  
478.  
Bef. J. C.  
Two hun-  
dred seven-  
ty-four.

177th Con-  
sulship.

Justin, B.  
25. c. 3.  
Polynæus  
Stratag.  
B. 8.

Zon. B. 8.

Plut. in  
Pyrrh.  
p. 400.

were pitched in a disorderly manner; but now they got great light into the art of encamping, which by gradual improvements they at length carried to the highest perfection.

V. THE king of Epirus, who after his defeat had retired to Tarentum with a small body of horse, resolved to leave Italy as soon as possible; but he concealed his design, and endeavoured to keep up the spirits of his allies, by giving them hopes of succour from Greece. In reality he sent letters thither to several courts, demanding men and money; but, for want of favourable answers, forged such as might please those he would deceive. When he could no longer conceal his resolution of going, the method he took to save his honour, at least for some time, was to pretend to be on a sudden transported with anger against his friends for their dilatoriness in sending him the succours he required. "Then," said he, "I must go myself and fetch them." He left a strong garrison in Tarentum under the command of Milo; and, to engage him to be faithful, one author tells us, that he made him at his departure a very extraordinary present, a seat covered with the skin of the wretch Nicias, that physician who had offered Fabricius to poison the king his master. After these disguises and precautions, he returned into Epirus with only 8000 foot and 500 horse.



## CHAP. XXIX.

I. *The triumph of Curius for his victory. His disinterestedness.* II. *He is continued for another year in the consulate. He forces the Samnites and Lucanians to retire for refuge to their mountains. The next year, the consul Claudius defeats them in a pitched battle.* III. *Ptolemy Philadelphus sends an embassy to Rome, to ask an alliance with the republic. The Romans send ambassadors into Ægypt.* IV. *Certain advice comes that Pyrrhus is dead. [The manner of his death is related.] The SAMNITES, in despair, put all to the hazard of a battle, are defeated, and thereby totally subdued, after a war which had lasted seventy-two years. The BRUTTIANS and LUCANIANS submit soon after; and Tarentum is surrendered into the hands of the Romans; after which the Carthaginians, whose fleet lay before Tarentum, sail away from the coast.* V. *The Romans punish the perfidious Campanian legion.* VI. *Silver money is coined at Rome for the first time.* VII. *Picenum is entirely subdued, and the SABINES are made entirely Roman, by being admitted to the right of suffrage in the Roman comitia.* VIII. *A war is commenced with the Salentines; which nation, together with the Sarcinates in Umbria, being entirely subdued, Rome remains mistress of all the countries in ITALY, from the remotest part of Etruria to the Ionian sea, and from the Tyrrhenian sea to the Adriatic.* IX. *The republic is courted by foreign states. A law is passed to prevent insults on foreign ambassadors. The Romans regulate their finances.*

I. AND now the triumphal procession of Curius, for his victory over Pyrrhus, drew all the attention of the people at Rome. The Romans had never before seen so much magnificence, such quantities of rich spoil; vessels of gold, purple carpets, statues, pictures, and, in short, all the fineries of the Greek cities.

Year of  
R O M E  
478.

Bef. J. C.  
Two hundred  
seventy-four.

177th Con-  
sulship.  
Flor. B. 1.  
c. 18.



Year of  
R O M E  
478.  
Bef. J. C.  
Two hun-  
dred seven-  
ty-four.

177th Con-  
sulship.

Pliny, B. 18.  
c. 3.  
Val. Max.  
B. 4. c. 3.

Rome, says Florus, could hardly contain her victory. And what raised the admiration of the people more than all, were the elephants, those huge animals, with towers on their backs. The senate, to reward the victor, empowered him to appropriate to himself fifty acres of the conquered lands; but he declined this favour, having firmly resolved never to possess above seven acres, an estate which he thought sufficient for the support of any honest man.

The triumph of Curius was followed by that of his colleague Lentulus, who had made a successful campaign in Lucania, and taken Caudium from the Samnites.

This happy consulship ended with a census and lustrum. The austere Fabricius, and his old colleague in the consulship, Æmilius Papus, being censors this year, they made a new list of senators, and excluded all those of the former list, who led dissolute lives; nay Cornelius Ruffinus, who had been consul and dictator, was struck out of the roll, only for having ten pounds weight of silver plate for his table. The number of Roman citizens fit to bear arms appeared to be 271,224.

Plut. Life  
of Sylla.  
Val. Max.  
B. 2. c. 9.

Year of  
R O M E  
479.  
Bef. J. C.  
Two hun-  
dred seven-  
ty-three.

178th Con-  
sulship.

Zonaras, B.  
8.

II. THE Romans, being under the apprehension that Pyrrhus might soon appear again in Italy, continued Curius in the consulate for the next year, giving him for a colleague Cornelius Merenda. In the meantime the Tarentines, who had hated Pyrrhus ever since his first coming among them, began now to despise him. Placing one Nikon at their head, they forced

Milo and his troops to retire into the citadel, and confine themselves there. The belief that by these divisions Tarentum would ruin herself, and be forced in the end to surrender to the Romans, was what probably made Curius neglect to besiege it. He turned his forces against the Samnites and Lucanians, who not being able to keep the field, retired to their mountains. But in the following consulship of C. Fabius Dorso and C. Claudius Canina \*, being encouraged, doubtless, by the emissaries from Epirus, who promised them that Pyrrhus, (after the conquest of Macedon, which he had undertaken since his return home) would hasten to their assistance, they came down again into the plains to defend their towns, and preserve their harvests. Claudius defeated them in a pitched battle, and preserved the same ascendant over them, which his predecessors had gained.

III. THE reputation of the Romans being now spread into foreign countries by the successful war they had sustained for six years against Pyrrhus; Ptolemy Philadelphus, king of Egypt, sent an embassy to Rome to ask the friendship of the republic, an honour which gave the Romans no small pleasure. Not to be outdone in civility, they sent away to Egypt four ambassadors, chosen with the utmost circumspection by a senate studious to preserve their reputation abroad entire. Fabius Gurges was at the head of the embassy, and with him were joined three curule ædiles, two of them

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCCCLXXIX  
Bef. J. C.  
Two hundred  
seventy-three.  
178th Consulship.

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCCCLXX  
Bef. J. C.  
Two hundred  
seventy-two.  
179th Consulship.  
\* A second  
time.

Fast. Capit.

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCCCLXXX.  
Bef. J. C.  
Two hun-  
dred seven-  
ty-two.

179th Con-  
sulship.

Entrop. B.  
2. p. 15.  
Zon. B. 8.  
Liv. Epit.  
14.  
Dion. in  
excerpt.  
Val. Max.  
B. 4. c. 3.

brothers of the Fabian family, and the third Q. Ogulnius. Their reception was magnificent, and Ptolemy at a splendid entertainment presented each of them with a crown of gold, which they received, because they were unwilling to disoblige him by a refusal: but they went the next morning and placed them on the heads of the king's statues, that were erected in the public parts of the city. The rich presents which the king offered them at their audience of leave they also accepted; but at their return to Rome, and before they went to the senate, they deposited all these presents in the public treasury, desiring no reward but glory for the services they did their country: however, the senate and people ordered the quæstors to restore to the ambassadors what had been given them for their own use.

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCCCLXXXI  
Bef. J. C.  
Two hun-  
dred seven-  
ty-one.

180th Con-  
sulship.

IV. WHETHER the Romans believed or not, that Pyrrhus, when he had conquered Macedon, would once more return into Italy, they took care to choose such consuls for the next year as should be able to cope with him, if he came. Their choice fell upon L. Papirius Cursor and Sp. Carvilius, who both of them had been raised to that eminent station before, and had signalized themselves in it. These generals, with two consular armies, were already entered into the territory of the Samnites, when an account came that Pyrrhus was dead. This inconstant prince, when he had almost totally subdued Macedon, left that enterprize to undertake the protection and restoration of



Cleonymus, king of Sparta, who had been driven from his capital by the intrigues of his wife, and the ambition of his nephew. Such was the Epirot's pretence; but his real design was to make himself master of all Peloponnesus, by taking advantage of the divisions which had sprung up there. He marched into Laconia, and invested Lacedæmon, but soon after quitted that undertaking likewise, to get possession of Argos, whither he was invited by one of the two factions into which that city was split. There he fell by the hand of a woman. The faction that favoured him having in the night admitted him into the town by one of the gates, and the other faction having opened another gate to a body of Macedonians and Spartans, a bloody battle was fought, in which Pyrrhus receiving a slight wound from a young Argian, would have revenged it by his death: but the mother of the young man, affrighted at her son's danger, which she beheld from the top of a house, took up a great tile, and with both her hands threw it at the king; who, receiving the blow in the nape of his neck, of which it bruised the vertebræ, fell senseless to the ground; and then Zopyrus, a Macedonian, who was the only person in the throng that knew him, severed his head from his body.

The news of Pyrrhus's death threw the Samnites into despair; they now looked upon their liberty as gone, and, like men in such a situation, put all to the hazard of a single battle. Florus says, that the Samnites were so totally

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCCXXXI  
Bef. J. C.  
Two hun-  
dred seven-  
ty-one.

180th Con-  
sulship.  
Plut. Life of  
Pyrrhus, p.  
404, 405.  
Justin, B.  
25. c. 4.

Flor. B. 1.  
c. 16.

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCLXXXI  
Bef. J. C.  
Two hun-  
dred seven-  
ty-one.

180th Con-  
sulship.

Oros. B. 4.  
c. 3.

Liv. Epit.  
14.  
Zonaras,  
B. 8.  
Frontin.  
Stratag. B.  
3. c. 3.

conquered, and the ruins of their cities so ruined, that Samnium might in vain be sought for in Samnium. And thus ended this bloody war, which had lasted seventy-two years, and had procured the Roman generals thirty-one triumphs. The Bruttians and Lucanians soon after submitted to the same yoke. Tarentum remained unpunished, and thither therefore the consuls marched and invested it. Milo still possessed the citadel. The Tarentines (as it is reasonably thought) had implored the assistance of the Carthaginians; for these lay with a fleet before the town, and pretended to have no design but against Milo and his Epirots. Papirius, being desirous to prevent the Carthaginians from getting any footing in Italy, signified privately to Milo, that if he would surrender up the citadel to him, he and his garrison should not only have their lives spared, but be transported safe with their effects to Epirus. Milo readily listened to this offer, and even did more than he was asked: He undertook to put the city likewise into the consul's hands. Having assembled the Tarentines, he persuaded them to depute him to the consul, promising to negotiate matters so well for them, that they should lose neither their lives nor their estates; and he made good his word. The Romans being soon after admitted into the town, did no violence to the inhabitants. As for the Carthaginians, when they found themselves disappointed, they retired with their fleet, leaving the Romans in a well-grounded suspicion, that

they had intended to seize a place, which by right of conquest belonged to Rome; and though their manner of proceeding did not cause an open rupture, it produced a coldness at least between the two republics.

V. ALL the old enemies of Rome, the Sabines, Volsci, Campanians, and Hetrurians, being subdued, and these, with the other nations newly conquered, being now become parts of one and the same state, of which Rome was the capital, the republic was at leisure to wipe off the dishonour thrown upon her by the perfidious Campanian legion, formerly sent to Rhegium. As soon, therefore, as Quinctius Claudius and L. Genucius Clepsina were entered upon the consulship, the latter was ordered to lead an army to that city, and besiege it. The usurpers, to make a better defence, not only called to their assistance the Mamertines, (who were themselves originally Campanians, and had acted the same part at Mesana after the death of king Agathocles, which the other had done at Rhegium) but opened an asylum for all the banditti of the country. Their obstinacy being increased by this additional strength, the siege proved a long one, and provisions failing in the camp of the Romans, Genucius was obliged to have recourse to Hiero, king of Syracuse, a generous prince, whose name will be often mentioned in the course of this history. Hiero furnished the consul not only with the corn he wanted, but with a reinforcement of some Sicilian troops; and by the help of these succours the Romans

Year of  
R O M E  
CCCCCLXXXI  
Bef. J. C.  
Two hundred  
seventy-one.

180th Con-  
sulship.

Fast. Capit.

Polyb. B. 1.  
c. 7.

Year of  
R O M E  
482.

Bef. J. C.  
Two hundred  
seventy.

181st Con-  
sulship.

Zon. B. 8.

Polyb. B. 1.  
c. 7.  
Val. Max.  
B. 2. c. 7.  
§ 15.



Year of  
R O M E  
482.  
Bef. J. C.  
Two hun-  
dred seven-  
ty.

181st Con-  
sulship.

Polyb. B. 1.  
c. 7.

Year of  
R O M E  
483.  
Bef. J. C.  
Two hun-  
dred sixty-  
nine.

182d Con-  
sulship.  
Fast. Capit.  
Zon. and D.  
Aug.

took the town. Of about 4000 men, of which the guilty legion had at first consisted, there remained now but 300 alive. Thése, though Campanians by birth, having the privileges of Roman citizenship, were sent prisoners to Rome, to be there tried. The senate condemned them all to be first beaten with rods, and then beheaded; and, notwithstanding that one of the tribunes made an opposition to this sentence, pretending that it belonged to the people alone to pronounce upon Roman citizens in capital cases, the decree was executed, and they were put to death by fifty at a time in the Forum Romanum. By this execution the republic cleared herself from the suspicion of having had any part in the treachery of the Campanian legion. Those of the old inhabitants, who had escaped the cruelty of the usurpers, were reinstated in the possession of their lands, liberties, and laws.

VI. DURING the following administration of the consuls C. Genucius and Cn. Cornelius, the former obtained a victory over the Sarcinates, a people of Umbria, who were for the most part Gauls. This year was remarkable for nothing more, except the severity of the winter. The snow lay forty days upon the ground in the Forum of Rome, and was of a prodigious depth. The succeeding consuls, Q. Ogulnius Gallus and C. Fabius Pictor, were ordered to undertake the reduction of the Picentes and Salentines, (the only nation in the east of Italy not yet subject to the republic)

but they were of a sudden called elsewhere, to extinguish a flame, which a very small spark had kindled. One Lollius, by birth a Samnite, had been delivered to the Romans by his countrymen, as an hostage for their fidelity. This man had escaped from Rome, joined a company of rebels, seized a strong place in Samnium, and was committing robberies in all the country; he had drawn also the Caricini, who were either a people of Samnium, or in alliance with them, into his measures, making their city the magazine of his booty. The consuls were therefore despatched to lay siege to that place; and by the help of some deserters, who introduced the Roman troops secretly into it, they made an easy conquest. The consuls had no triumph for their success in this war, because it was deemed a civil war; nevertheless, they signalized their victory by more lasting monuments.

To this time the Romans had never used any money in commerce, except pieces of brass, stamped with the figure of a bull, a ram, and a boar; they had been too poor to coin silver money. But now, after the conquest of Samnium, and the surrendry of Tarentum, the riches of the state being increased, and a great quantity of bars of silver, (of no use to the republic in that form) having been found among the treasures taken from Lollius, the consuls thought it advisable to coin the silver, and introduce it into commerce. The place appointed for the mint was the temple of Juno Moneta, from whence comes the word money.

Year of  
R O M E  
484.  
Bef. J. C.  
Two hundred sixty-eight.

183d Consulshp.  
Eutrop. B.  
2. c. 16.  
Zonar. B. 8.

Plin. B. 3.  
c. 33.

Year of  
R O M E  
484.  
Bef. J. C.  
Two hun-  
dred sixty-  
eight.

183d Con-  
sulship.  
Suidas, un-  
der the word  
*Μονησα*.

Varr. de  
ling.  
Lat. B. 4.

\* Duo and  
Semis ter-  
tius.

Year of  
R O M E  
485.  
Bef. J. C.  
Two hun-  
dred sixty-  
seven.

184th Con-  
sulship.  
Eutrop. B.  
2. c. 16.  
Val. Max.  
B. 6. c. 5.

The new species, instead of being stamped with the figures of animals, was made to represent the exploits of the Roman heroes, by ingenious hieroglyphics; but so enigmatically, that the invention of our antiquaries is often put to the rack to explain them. Some of these pieces of silver money, being worth ten asses of brass, were called *denarii*, and marked with the numeral letter X; others, worth but five asses, were called *quinarii*, and were marked with the letter V. The *sestertii*, which were worth but two asses and a half, were distinguished by the letters HS or LLS\*.

VII. THE next year the new consuls, P. Sempronius Sophus and Appius Claudius Crassus, (son of the famous blind Appius, and the heir of his artfulness) entered Picenum jointly; but new commotions in Umbria obliged the latter soon after to march thither. He laid siege to Camerinum, a town situated near the Apennines, that separated Umbria from Picenum; and when he had taken it, treated the inhabitants barbarously: he sold them for slaves, contrary to his agreement with them, put the purchase-money into the public treasury, and seized their lands. The republic, however, would not authorize so wicked a fraud. The senate ordered the unhappy wretches to be sought out, granted them the privilege of Roman citizens, assigned them a quarter upon Mount Aventine for an habitation, and allotted each of them as much land as he had lost in Umbria.

In the meantime, Sempronius Sophus pur-



sued the war against the Picentes. Just as he was going to engage with the enemy in a pitched battle, a sudden earthquake greatly terrified his soldiers, and damped their ardour for fighting; but he telling them, "That the earth shook only for fear of changing its masters," and then vowing a temple to the goddess Tellus, they quickly recovered their courage, and fell upon the Picentes with their usual intrepidity. The battle must have been exceedingly bloody; for though the consul gained the victory, he lost the greater part of his troops in the action. Asculum, the capital of Picenum, soon after surrendered, and the whole nation gave themselves to the Romans; an important increase of the dominion of the republic, because this country alone was able to supply her armies with 360,000 soldiers.

To keep the newly-conquered nations in awe, the Romans at this time settled colonies at Ariminum, in the country of the Picentes, and at Beneventum in that of the Samnites; and at this time also the Sabines, whose right of citizenship at Rome had hitherto extended only to the privilege of being incorporated in the legions, instead of barely serving as auxiliaries, were admitted to the right of suffrage in the city, and thereby became entirely Roman.

VIII. THE Salentines, whose chief cities were Hydruntum, Aletium, and Brundisium, were now almost the only people in the eastern extremity of Italy that remained unsubdued to the Romans. It was easy for the ambitious republic to invent pretences to rob her neigh-

Year of  
R O M E  
485.

Bef. J. C.  
Two hundred sixty-seven.

184th Consulship.

Frontin.  
Strat. B. 1.  
c. 12.

Flor. B. 1.  
c. 19.  
Oros. B. 4.  
c. 4.  
Plin. B. 3.  
c. 13.

Vel. Pat.  
B. 1. c. 14.

Year of  
R O M E  
486.  
Bef. J. C.  
Two hun-  
dred sixty-  
six.

185th Con-  
sulship.  
Flor. B. 1.  
c. 20.

Year of  
R O M E  
487.  
Bef. J. C.  
Two hun-  
dred sixty-  
five.

186th Con-  
sulship.  
Fast. Capit.

bours of their liberty. The next year's consuls, L. Julius Libo and M. Atilius Regulus, took Brundisium; but as the brave Salentines disputed their country inch by inch, the two generals were obliged to leave their conquest to be finished by their successors. These were Numerius Fabius and D. Junius Pera, who, having first subdued the Sarcinates in Umbria, totally reduced the Salentines, (though they had brought the Messapians or Iapygians into their quarrel.) The reduction of two nations in one campaign procured each consul two triumphs, a thing unheard-of before in the republic.

Rome was now become mistress of all the different nations of Italy, from the furthest part of Hetruria to the Ionian sea, and from the Tuscan sea cross the Apennines to the Adriatic. But these nations had not all the same privileges, nor were upon the same footing in point of subjection. Some were so entirely subject to Rome, as to have no laws but what they received from thence; others retained their old customs and forms of government. Some were tributary, others barely allies, who were bound to furnish the Roman army with troops, and maintain them at their own expense. Some had the privileges of Roman citizenship, and their soldiers were incorporated in the legions; others had likewise a right of suffrage in the elections made by the centuries in the Campus Martius. These different degrees of honour, privileges, and liberty, were founded in the different terms granted by the conquerors in their

treaties with the vanquished; and these honours and privileges were afterwards increased, according to the fidelity of the several cities and nations; and the services they did the republic.

IX. AFTER the great increase of power and dominion which the Romans acquired by their victories over Pyrrhus and his Italian allies, free cities and whole nations beyond the seas began to follow the example of the king of Egypt, and court the friendship of the republic. Apollonia, situated over against Brundisium, was the first city of Macedon that sent ambassadors to desire her protection. These ambassadors were received with honour by the senate; but afterwards, upon some occasion not known, were insulted by Fabricius and Apronius, young Romans of great distinction, and at this time ædiles. So grievous a breach of the law of nations required satisfaction; nor did the republic refuse it. The young men were condemned to be delivered up into the hands of the ambassadors, in order to be transported to Apollonia, and there punished at the pleasure of the people. This was showing the Apollonians all the regard possible; and they, in their turn, showed a prudent respect for the Roman senate. Fabricius and Apronius were hospitably received, and then sent back to Rome. And this memorable event gave rise to a law, (which subsisted ever after) "That if any citizen, of what quality soever, insulted an ambassador, he should be delivered up to the injured nation."

Year of  
R O M E  
487.  
Ref. J. C.  
Two hundred sixty-five.

186th Consulship.

Liv. Epit.  
15.  
Val. Max.  
B. 6. c. 6.

Dig. Parag.  
de Legat.



Year of  
R O M E  
488.

Bef. J. C.  
Two hun-  
dred sixty-  
four.


187th Con-  
sulship.

\* A third  
time.  
Cic. de  
Orat. pro  
Sext. et  
contra Rul-  
lum  
Sueton.

And now the great affair of the republic under the administration of the consuls Q. Fabius Gurgēs\* and L. Mamilius Vitulus, was to regulate her revenues. These revenues arose from the tributes each province was to pay; from the rents of certain arable and pasture lands which the republic reserved as her demesnes, whenever she divided any conquered lands among the citizens; from the tenth of the produce of all lands dependent on her; and lastly, from the imposts upon all merchandize imported into her dominions. It has been already observed, that four officers, with the title of quæstors, had the charge of receiving and disbursing the public monies. Valerius Poplicola, soon after the birth of the republic, desiring to ease himself of the care of the finances, had appointed two: to these Sempronius Atratinus, in the year 333, being then military tribune, with consular authority, had added two more, whose peculiar business was to attend the consuls in their expeditions, keep the military chest, pay the troops, and sell the spoils and prisoners taken from the enemy. The quæstors neither of the one nor of the other institution had any of the great badges of distinction annexed to their offices. They had neither curule chairs, nor lictors, nor apparitors; nor could they refuse to appear before the prætor, upon a summons from even the meanest of the citizens. The only privileges they had were those of assembling the *comitia* at Rome, and speaking to them from the rostra, and haranguing the soldiers in the field.

The four quæstors had been found to be hardly sufficient to go through the business belonging to them, even before the late conquests; but now it was absolutely necessary to augment the number of these officers; and four new ones were therefore created with the title of Provincial Quæstors, to take charge of the four provinces<sup>1</sup> into which the republic had divided her conquests.

<sup>1</sup> The seat or chief office of the first province was at Ostia, a maritime city near Rome. This quæstorship reached, in all probability, from the head of the Tiber and the river Arnus, to the mouth of the Liris; and comprehended Hetruria, Latium, Sabinia, Umbria, and in short, all the coasts of the Tuscan sea, and all the lands between that sea and the Apennines. The seat of the second province was at Cale, in the delightful country of Campania; and it reached from the Liris to the gulf of Tarentum. This province contained Campania, Samnium, Lucania, the country of the Bruttii and Cænotria; and within it were many rich maritime cities. The third province reached from the Apennines to the shore of the Adriatic sea, and was called the Gallic quæstorship. It contained the countries formerly conquered by the Gauls, especially the Senones, from the river Rubicon to the Æsis. But notwithstanding its name, it contained also Picenum, the country of the Frentani, and all the other countries as far as Apulia. And, lastly, the fourth quæstorship, of which we have not so distinct an account as of the other three, could only comprehend Apulia, Calabria, and the territories of the Salentines, Messapians, and Tarentines. A fine province, if we consider the great number of its sea-ports, into which merchandizes were imported from Greece, Asia, and Africa. For these four provinces, Rome created four new quæstors; and it was then settled, that all the eight quæstors should for the future be chosen in *comitia* by tribes. After the elections, which were renewed every year, the eight quæstors drew lots, in the presence of the people, to decide which should have the Roman, which the military, and which the provincial quæstorships. The four provincial ones were

Year of  
R O M E  
488.  
Bef. J. C.  
Two hundred sixty-four.  
  
187th Consulship.  
Liv. Epit.  
B. 15.

Year of  
R O M E  
488.  
Bef. J. C.  
Two hun-  
dred sixty-  
four.

187th Con-  
sulship.

Orosius, B.  
4. c. 5.

The usual fortune of Rome, during any interval of tranquillity, did not fail to attend her at this time. A most dreadful plague raged both in the city and in the country. The Sybilline books, according to custom, were hereupon consulted; and it was there found, that some secret crimes had drawn down the wrath of Heaven upon the republic. A vestal, named Caparonia, proved the unhappy victim sacrificed to the prepossessions of the people. Being convicted of incontinency before the tribunal of the pontifices, they condemned her to be buried alive; and though to avoid so cruel a death she strangled herself, the same ceremonies of interment were performed upon the dead body as if she had been living.

Notwithstanding the havoc made by the

mostly desired by the ambitious before Rome had extended her conquests beyond Italy; but when she had brought the east and west into subjection to her, and great kingdoms were become so many provinces under her domination, the four Italian provinces were but little coveted by the quæstors, who were multiplied in proportion as the republic engaged her conquests. The proconsuls and proprætors, that is to say the governors of those remote provinces, had each his quæstor, or superintendent of the finances, for his government: and these governments being large and rich, and far out of the senate's sight, the quæstors were fond of going thither, where they could raise more money, and were more honoured and respected; for here they wore the prætexta, and were attended by lictors, as appears from Cic. 3d. orat. contra Verr. For all these reasons, when the quæstors drew lots for their provinces, the man to whom any of the Italian ones fell became the jest of the people. "He goes to the waters," said they; meaning that he was going to enjoy his repose near Rome, much as those Romans did, who went to Baïæ or Puteoli for the waters. C. & R.



plague, the number of citizens fit to bear arms appeared, by a census taken this year, to be 292,224. Doubtless the Sabines, to whom the right of suffrage had been lately granted, must have been reckoned in this enumeration. C. Marcius Rutilus, one of the censors, had, on account of his extraordinary merit, been elected, contrary to custom and his own earnest remonstrances, a second time to this office; and hence probably he acquired the surname of Censorinus, which was perpetuated in his family. Plutarch tells us, that to put a stop to so dangerous a practice, Marcius got a law passed, forbidding any person to hold the censorship a second time.

The present consuls were still at Rome, wholly employed in civil affairs, when on a sudden a war sprung up in the very bowels of the republic. Volsinii, a considerable city of Hetruria, had been by treaty allowed to enjoy her own laws and form of government; but the Volsinienses had since fallen into sloth and luxury, neglected their laws, despised the public offices, and suffered their freedmen to usurp them. These freedmen by degrees had made themselves tyrants in the little republic; and it was their whole business to mortify their old masters. They not only with all licentiousness invaded their wives, but passed a law, that no virgin daughter of a man free-born should be married to a husband of the like condition, till she had submitted to the passion of a freedman. And to all these insolences they added

Year of  
R O M E  
488.

Ref. J. C.  
Two hundred sixty-four.

187th Consulship.

Liv. Epit.

16.

Eutrop. B.

2. c. 18.

Val. Max.

B. 4. c. 1.

Plut. Life of  
Coriolanus.

Zonaras, B.

8.

Flor. B. 1.

c. 21.

Author. de

Viris.

Illust. c. 36.

Val. Max.

B. 9. c. 1.

Year of  
R O M E  
488.  
Bef. J. C.  
Two hun-  
dred sixty-  
four.

187th Con-  
sulship.

banishments and proscriptions of the most worthy citizens. The Volsinienses not being able to help themselves, sent deputies privately to implore the protection of the senate of Rome. But though the negociation was thought to be carried on with perfect secrecy, the freedmen got notice of it, and put the deputies to death at their return; and when Fabius Gurgus, who undertook with a small army of volunteers to chastise them, came near their city, he found them upon their guard; nay, the freedmen ventured to face him in the field, and gave him battle. The consul put them to the rout; but as he was entering the town with the run-aways, he received a mortal wound from an unknown hand; and then the Romans were repulsed. After this Decius Mus, who had been lieutenant to Fabius, besieged the place in form; and in the year following it surrendered to the consul Fulvius Flaccus. The freedmen, who had usurped the magistracies, and acted the whole scene of villany, were all put to death; the city was rased, and the inhabitants transplanted to another.

These last particulars are here mentioned a little before their time, that they may not hereafter interrupt the relation of more important matters; the causes and commencement of the FIRST PUNIC OR CARTHAGINIAN WAR.

END OF THE THIRD VOLUME.

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1923









